A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Ché Guevara.
A legendary life

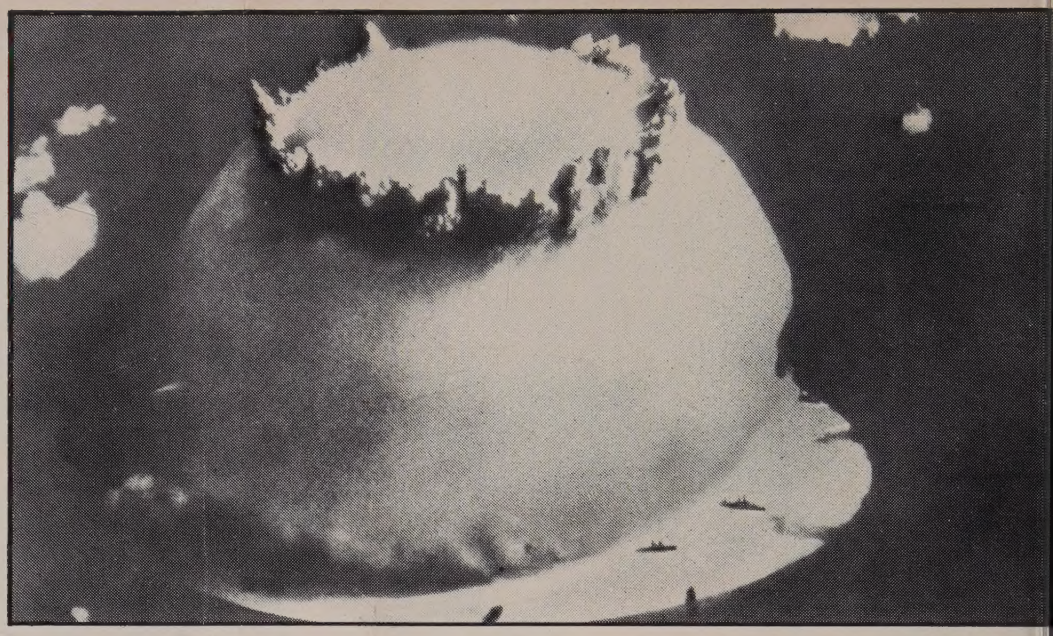
NEW TIMES

ROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY
NOV 10
University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

THE YOUTH OF CHINA THROUGH THE PRISM OF LITERATURE

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE



In 1947, Yefim Smirnov, newly appointed Minister for Public Health, visited some of the war-ravaged parts of the country. What he saw came as a bad shock to him. In a Ukrainian hospital, for instance, patients had to eat out of old tins for want of plates. Back in Moscow, the Minister clamoured for more funds to be allocated to public health. While admitting that he was right, Stalin pointed out that Smirnov who, by virtue of his position, knew about the nuclear weapons then being developed ought to have known better where the money was going.

On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill made a speech in Fulton, U.S.A., urging a crusade against the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R.'s recent allies in the anti-Hitler coalition openly broke with the nation which had borne the brunt of the war. The speech triggered off the cold war, the longest war of the 20th century.

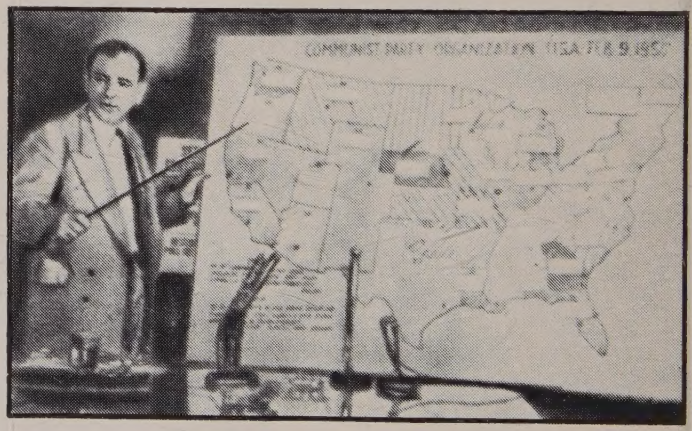
Whether it likes it or not, President Truman said in 1945, seemingly forgetful of the allied fight that had just ended against sundry aspirants to world domination, the U.S. must admit that its victory has imposed on the American people the burden of responsibility for world leadership.

The White House regarded its monopoly on nuclear weapons as its trump card and the U.S.S.R. as the main obstacle to its designs. In the autumn of 1945 the first plans for a nuclear attack on the U.S.S.R. already existed: a list of atomic bombing targets, drawn up in 1947, included 100 Soviet cities.

However, all attempts to intimidate or isolate the U.S.S.R. failed. After the war, our country's prestige grew enormously. The number of foreign embassies in Moscow more than doubled, and the municipal authorities had a hard time finding accommodation for them. More and more countries embarked on the socialist course. Towards the end of 1949, socialism became a global system embracing 27 per cent of the planet's land surface and accounting for over a third of the world's population.

In 1949, the U.S. nuclear monopoly came to an end: the U.S.S.R. developed an atomic bomb of its own. moment it arrived. In 1947, the Soviet Union submitted to the Commission on Atomic Energy a proposal that extensive measures be taken to verify abidance by an international convention banning nuclear weapons. All this came up against stubborn resistance on the part of the U.S.

In the meantime, the voice of the peace movement carried ever further. Born in 1949, the movement quickly drew hundreds of millions of people in all countries, with personalities like Frédéric Joliot-Curie and Yves Farge, John Bernal and William Du Bois at its



The choice was not ours. Moscow had suggested a ban on this weapon the head. Pablo Picasso's "Dove" came to be the symbol of the movement.

Atomic bomb test on Bikini atoll ● Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, an inspirer of the F.R.G.'s revanchist line, and John Foster Dulles, a founder of NATO ● Joe McCarthy, the witch-hunter.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

43 November 2, 1987
Founded 1943

CONTENTS

2
Editorial
NOON OF PEACE

3
1917 - 1987: The October Revolution and the world
Bosko Krunic. THE HERITAGE OF THE WHOLE OF MANKIND

6
Panorama

9
U.S.S.R. - F.R.G.
Konstantin Isakov. TIME TO MAKE A START

10
Central America
Vadim Nizsky. NOBEL PRIZE FOR PRESIDENT SANCHEZ

11
Observer's view
Vladimir Zhitomirsky. IN FRONT OF MILLIONS

15
In retrospect
Leonid Mlechin. KNOTTY PROBLEMS REMAIN

16
Taking up a point
Askold Silin. BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL!

Another Tigers of Tamil Eelam gunman captured.

The Armenian Apostolic Church. Echmiadzin Cathedral.

Keep classical ballet alive.

18
Mankind and the future
Clinton Gardner. NEXT STEP ON THE BRIDGE

20
Sri Lanka
Alexander Volkov. WHEN EXTREMES MEET

22
Religion
SALVATION LIES IN GOOD WILL. Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church, Catholicos of All Armenia Vazgen I interviewed

24
New Times expedition
Boris Kozlov. ON THE ROMANIAN BANK

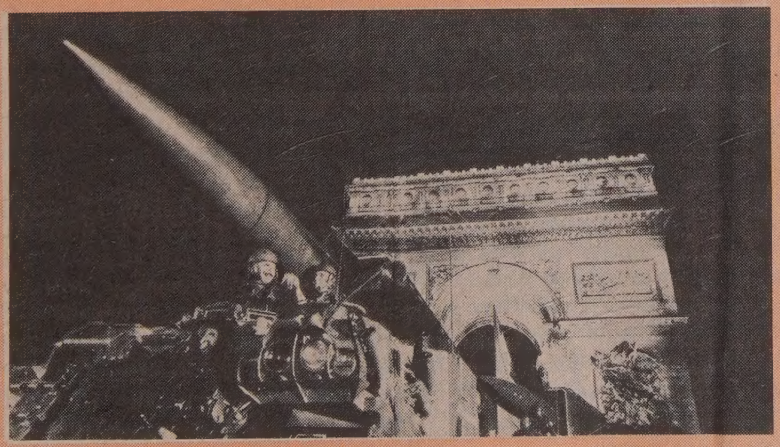
26
Vladimir Mironov. A REVOLUTIONARY BY CALLING

27
Art
Azary Plisetsky. RUSSIAN BALLET: HOW TO STAY AHEAD!

29
Culture and politics
Nina Borevskaya. FLAMING HEART AND INQUIRING MIND

32
Sport
Alexander Lyubimov. THE CONTEST NOT YET OVER

Cover: Photo by Michael Ruttan



12
"Double zero is a double error, and the West should not discard the strategy of nuclear deterrence," says Pierre Lellouche, a prominent French expert.
Soviet journalist Nikolai Portugalov disagrees with him.

NEW TIMES

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
NOV 10 1987
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
A. PIN,
B. PISHCHIK,
D. POGORZHELSKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov

FROM OUR MAILBAG

Since the U.S. and then the U.S.S.R. invented the atomic bomb, many proposals have been made to end nuclear weapon testing and renounce "star wars," and concrete programmes for strengthening world peace have been put forward. All of them have come from the Soviet Union, while the U.S. and its allies have firmly said no in reply. They are still quibbling about small points, beating the air, in effect. Imperialism deserves a defeat. It is concerned about making fabulous profits, not about the welfare of the people.

R. BARR
Sacramento, U.S.A.

Your approach to foreign-policy issues differs radically from that of the Western press. The preservation of world peace, the ending of the arms race and many other vital problems are extensively dealt with in your magazine. Glasnost and perestroika are arousing great interest in Brazil, and have become a subject of heated debates. The introduction of democratic principles in public life on a wider scale is enhancing the international prestige of the Soviet Union.

HENRIQUE DE SOUZA MIRANDA
Pouso Alegre, Brazil

The only reason I go to work is to earn money. My real life is in my family. But I would very much like to be mistress at my factory too. All of us can feel responsibility at work - use instruments and materials as our own, handle them carefully, and effect reasonable savings. Great reserves and incentives can be found here for the manufacture of more, better-quality goods.

SABINE HARTLEIB
Rostock, G.D.R.

EDITORIAL

NOON OF PEACE

The Tenth U.N. Disarmament Week starts on October 24, United Nations Day, in Hiroshima, that much-suffering city, the first to experience the nuclear nightmare. The Week will open with a symbolic action - the Global Peace Wave, which is to sweep the globe in twenty-four hours. The wave will begin to move westwards at noon to be taken up, also at noon, in every successive time zone by ever newer detachments of the peace movement representing various races and nations, political creeds and world outlooks, religions and professions.

The Global Peace Wave will cross vast spaces along with swift-footed time. In this relay race, the thoughts and actions of those working for the survival of mankind, and international security and disarmament will merge in a single stream.

We on this planet have succeeded in preserving peace for 42 years. It has not been the best kind of peace, for throughout these years the acrid smell of war has tainted the atmosphere of the globe. In various places armed conflicts have broken out, and tensions flared up to danger point. The world has repeatedly found itself on the brink. Arms stockpiles, arsenals of the most barbarous weapons of mass destruction have grown to absurd proportions. The tyranny of fear has oppressed all of us beyond endurance. Many still believe this fear to be our salvation. But times are changing. We have now learned to understand the irrationality of this fear. It is not fear but good will, above all, and the efforts of the international community's peace forces, and its main forum, the United Nations, that have saved the world from the conflagration of war throughout all these years.

The experience we have accumulated is invaluable. This experience, and the new political thinking, tell us that peace can be safeguarded by neither statements and negotiations, nor the declarations and resolutions of international forums, however authoritative these forums may be. What matters is the political will of those involved in international communication, their real actions for disarmament. It is no longer sufficient merely to stop the arms race and freeze arms stockpiles. If the planet is to survive, weapons of mass destruction must be eliminated.

Disarmament is the imperative of our time. There is no turning back the swift forward march of time, every lap of which continues to mark another stage in the arms race. However, the process of arms buildup can be reversed and converted into disarmament.

It would be naive to believe that the "disarmament race" will be easy - the years of confrontation and cold war have left a legacy of mistrust which is too profound to be done away with overnight. Still, it is necessary to move ahead steadily, if slowly. Mankind is already off to a good start, with Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington - and now Moscow - as early milestones in its progress. The prospect of reaching an unprecedented disarmament agreement - albeit limited in the number of signatories and in scale - are perfectly realistic, as is the prospect of eliminating mistrust and prejudice. The Disarmament Week is another step forward along this road.

We must go the whole distance for the sake of the future. And it is for the sake of the future that the Global Peace Wave will sweep the planet.

May all the shadows of war, mistrust and fear start to fade at noon on October 24!

THE HERITAGE OF THE WHOLE OF MANKIND

Bosco Krunic, Chairman of the Presidium, Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, is interviewed by New Times.

Progressives the world over will soon celebrate a momentous date, the 70th anniversry of the Great October Socialist Revolution. What, in your view, is its international significance?

The October Revolution ushered in the era of socialism, the transformation of the world along socialist lines. Although seven decades have passed since those historic days in 1917, the doctrine of Lenin, who inspired the revolution, developed its strategy and led it, is relevant to the working people of the whole world today. Lenin's fundamental theses on social and national liberation have withstood the test of time. The elimination of national oppression, voluntary unification of peoples, the alliance of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia - all this has been put into practice. Lenin's assertion to the effect that all nations will arrive at socialism in their own way, with each nation contributing something of its own to this or that form of democracy, to this or that form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to various forms of social transformation is vindicated daily, as is his conclusion that the proletariat needs democracy and socialism.

The victory of the October Revolution greatly strengthend the socialist forces worldwide. Various forms of socialist relations are developing almost everywhere. The working class and working people in general are playing a growing role in social movements and transformations. In many countries, the working class is exerting a significant influence on social and political life. Progressive forces have come to play a crucial role in social development.

The struggle of the working class in the present-day world stimulates more than ever before the processes of social and national emancipation, the struggle for independence and freedom, and the movement for peace and closer relations between peoples. Peaceful coexistence is today the condition for the survival of mankind.

Readiness to respond to the requirements of the contemporary struggle for socialism and social progress is very important for the success of the world socialist process. We Yugoslav Communists are also trying to meet the challenge of the times. We follow with interest the progress of the reforms initiated in a number of socialist countries. The readiness of the socialist forces critically to reappraise their own practice and overcome their weaknesses to ensure more rapid and rational economic and social development with a greater role assigned to the working class and all working people in running society is the imperative of the time, and our duty before the ideals of the October Revolution. This fully accords with the views of Lenin who spoke of the need to combat bureaucracy, noting that "we can fight bureaucracy to the bitter end, to a complete victory, only when the whole population participates in the work of government."

Ten years ago, guided by these principles, Tito formulated the position of the LCY, foreseeing the need for democratization of production relations and the close interconnection between socialism and the struggle for national liberation. He declared: "The Communists of Yugoslavia have always regarded their own practice and the experience of their country in a critical way. I would single out two Marxist principles which we have always taken into account. First, the building of socialism is identical with the emancipation of labour and the working class, and the creation of free associations of producers. Second, socialism is a universal process and a class struggle is being waged on a worldwide scale. In other words, the true emancipation of the working class is closely linked with the struggle of peoples all over the world for political, economic and national emancipation."

The October Revolution made an invaluable contribution to the achievement of these goals as it involved the broad masses of workers and the people generally in the struggle to transform the world. As Lenin said, "socialism cannot be decreed from above... Living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves."

We in the Soviet Union know about the valiant struggle the peoples of Yugoslavia have waged for their liberation and for the victory of the socialist revolution. How did the ideas of the October Revolution influence the revolutionary process in Yugoslavia?

The doctrine of Marx and Lenin and the experience of the October Revolution have a special significance for the Communists and peoples of Yugoslavia. It provided the basis on which Yugoslav Communists prepared the proletariat, the peasantry and the intelligentsia for the battle against the bourgeoisie, the basis on which they took part in the war and the revolution and in the struggle for social and national liberation.

The Leninist ideas of the October Revolution inspired the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia in the struggle to build a socialist society on the principles of self-government, and to preserve their independence and peace throughout the world. In the difficult struggle for socialism we have always sought to apply the Marxist method creatively, taking into account our national conditions. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) with its policy in the field of relations between nationalities, has been and remains the spearhead in the struggle for the equality of its peoples and ethnic groups, and for their unity within the framework of a new and indivisible Yugoslavia. This is one manifestation of our adherence to the ideals of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution is part of the heritage of the working people of the whole world, including the people of Yugoslavia. Alongside the Communists, all people of Yugoslavia proved their allegiance to Lenin's internationalism in practice when Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R. We launched a war of national liberation and a revolution which were crowned with victory under the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. On June 22, 1941, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia called on the workers, Party members and peoples of Yugoslavia to take up arms against the fascist invaders. During the four years of the struggle for national liberation and the revolution the Yugoslav Communists, our peoples lost 1,700.000 lives.

The working-class movement and the Communists of Yugoslavia have never been passive observers of developments in Russia and the Soviet Union. It is well known that the 35,000 Yugoslavs who were in Russia in 1917 took part in the October Revolution on the side of the revolution. Today, 70 years later, we are promoting good and many-sided relations between our countries, peoples and parties. The principles on which these relations are built were fully reflected in the Belgrade and Moscow declarations of 1955 and 1956.

The cause of Lenin and the spirit of the October Revolution have exerted a powerful influence on the consciousness of the peoples of Yugoslavia and on our revolutionary working-class movement. Our Party, and our cadres have been raised on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. All this had far-reaching significance for our programme, our strategy and politics, for victory in our armed struggle, the triumph of the revolution and the shaping of socialist relations in society. The October Revolution and Lenin are the sources of inspiration to our youth and to Communists. The victory of our revolution was a measure of the strength of the popular masses led by the Communist Party. All the peoples of our country identified with the revolution. We made great sacrifices to the cause of freedom. After the war we lived through great difficulties, withstood pressure, met the challenge and created what we have today. We are developing socialist socio-economic relations and ensuring our country's progress materially and culturally on the basis of self-government. We are strengthening Yugoslavia's independence and international position on the basis of a federated system, national equality and freedom, the democratic improvement of the state and the strategy of non-alignment.

The conditions in which the peoples of Yugoslavia and all working people have marked anniversaries of the October Revolution have varied, but there has always been a clear awareness that the victory of the working class and the peasantry over capitalism in tsarist Russia had ushered in a new era in social relations, paving the way for a classless socialist and communist society. This will be the case this year, when we mark the 70th anniversry of the October Revolution in Russia.

We in the Soviet Union are attentive to the experience of the Yugoslav Communists in building a new society. We are studying all the positive achievements and view with understanding the difficulties Yugoslavia has encountered in recent years. What are the main priorities in the building of socialism for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia?

We have scored considerable successes in the country's economic and social development. We have increased our gross national product several times over, have insured considerable industrial growth and increased employment in the public sector of our economy. Thanks to rapid industrialization, we have achieved tangible results in improving our economic structure. The public sector has become the focus of the new socialist relations based on self-management. Since the war the average annual rate of production growth has been 6.3 per cent. The share of the public sector in the GNP grew from 62 per cent in 1947 to 87 per cent in 1985. Education, health, culture and science have made significant advances. The potential of our strong and skilled working class is great.

Against this background, however, certain contradictions and imbalancese in the economic structure have appeared. This has told on the development of society. The problems we are facing are manifested in the economic crisis and in social contradictions. This is primarily a result of oversights in domestic policy, reliance on extensive and autarchic development, inadequacies in economic policies and the unfavourable impact of aggravated international economic relations.

The 13th congress of the LCY a year ago achieved complete ideological unity, and reaffirmed the strategies of socialist self-government and public ownership of the means of production, equality, fraternity and unity of the peoples and ethnic groups, the country's federated system, the concepts of national defence and social self-defence, and the policy of non-alignment.

All the efforts of our society have been committed to the consistent implementation of the main goals set by the 13th congress of the LCY, namely: the development of socialist self-management, and especially the strengthening of the working people's position in associated labour, in the distribution of incomes and the management of the means of social reproduction as a whole, creating the conditions for the further growth of the productive forces and the strengthening

Thousands of Yugoslavs volunteered to fight for the cause of the October Revolution and on the side of Soviet republic in the civil war. Red Army regiment commander Aleksa Dundic (right) was killed in action. A group of Yugoslav internationalists (left).

of the material basis of socialist self-management, the intensive development and effective involvement of our economy in international exchange and in modern scientific and technological progress, the improvement of the political system, the promotion of the growth of the economically less developed republics, especially the socialist autonomous province of Kosovo, the rapid creation of jobs, a rise in living standards on the basis of productive labour, and the effective use of social resources.

Priority will be given to dealing more effectively with economic problems, notably through curbing inflation, bringing consumption into line with real possibilities, more effective and stable development, changes in economic structure, etc. These ends are served by our new long-term programme for economic stabilization. We have adopted a five-year plan for socio-economic development and a long-term development plan until the year 2000. We are working hard to determine development strategies for individual branches of the economy (tourism, agriculture, the small economy, the power industry and transport). We are working out a strategy for ecnomic relations with other countries. We have recently adopted a strategy for the country's technological development and are taking a series of concrete measures to implement it consistently. Our country has a vital stake in improving various forms of long-term cooperation with all countries in production, science and technology.

By and large, the emphasis is on self-reliance and the use of all the material, manpower and other potential at our disposal. We attach great significance to highly-developed production and scientific and technological progress, to greater employment and constant growth in the volume, quality and effectiveness of the export of goods and services. On this basis we propose to strengthen the country's economic independence, manage our economy effectively and improve production organization on the basis of self-management, production and export progammes and other national development programmes, and achieve more extensive cooperation with other countries.

Immediately after the 13th congress of the LCY we addressed ourselves to the tasks of improving the economic structure and the political system of socialist self-government. Changes are being introduced in the monetary, banking and credit systems. We are expanding long-term production cooperation with foreign firms, setting up mixed enterprises and trying to gain wider access to the world market. We want to make our economy more effective by using objective economic and market laws and increasing the financial responsibility of enterprises.

The involvement of all social strata, especially the working people, in tackling urgent problems has brought some results in the past year. Industrial and agricultural production has increased by 4.7 per cent, employment has gone up by 3 per cent and labour productivity by 1.7 per cent. The balance of payments has improved, the country is solvent and the total foreign indebtedness has decreased. This year has seen the further growth of industrial output, and an increase in the volume of exports, especially to countries with convertible currencies. Unemployment is falling and the consumed share of the national income is on the downgrade. Combating inflation is one of the main social objectives. A number of concrete economic measures are being taken, especially in pricing policy and economic policy in general, with a view to bringing down inflation.

The LCY and public organizations have mounted a vigorous effort to implement the new policy which commands the unreserved support of the Party, the overwhelming majority of the working class and of the Yugoslav people generally. The working people are increasingly aware that if economic problems are to be overcome and the goals set are to be achieved, production must be made more effective, the quality of work must improve and economic management must be made more rational.

Proceeding from the congress decisions, we have set about making the necessary changes in the political system. This applies in the first place to the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labour. We feel that there are shortcomings in the way certain aspects of our political system function. Some institutions cannot cope with socio-economic and political problems. The 12th and 13th congresses of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia reaffirmed the foundations of our political system. These are above all the power of the working class within the framework of socialist self-government, the equality, fraternity and unity of the peoples and ethnic groups, the federated system, the leading role of the League of Communists and the policy of non-alignment. We intend to take a critical look at and revise those decisions which have proved unjustified. The process is still making slow progress, meeting with resistance from entrenched bureaucratic and technocratic structures. The changes in the Constitution are aimed at improving the political system, socio-economic relations, the electoral system, relations within the federation, and the strengthening of constitutional law and order. The proposed changes are aimed at the more rapid development of the productive forces and socialist self-mangement relations in production, boosting the prestige of associated labour, the observance of objective economic laws, and reducing our reliance on mere administration in the socio-economic and political systems. The proposed changes are to be widely discussed by all the working people and the population as a whole.

So we are facing major challenges which can only be met by common efforts. The results achieved in the social and economic spheres provide a guarantee that we shall be able to solve our problems, remedy our shortcomings and meet the targets we have fixed. This will be achieved by the joint efforts of all strata of society under the leadership of the League of Communists. Our society has embarked on this course confident that, despite the resistance with which this work is meeting, we shall be sucessful in achieving our goals.

In addition to the problems I have mentioned the LCY is confronted with other serious tasks in the field of ideology, foreign policy, national defence, etc.

What would you wish for Soviet people on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolultion?

I take this opportunity to salute all Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution on behalf of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the working people, the nations and ethnic groups of our country and, through New Times, to express warm and friendly greetings to them. I would like to wish them success in achieving the goals set by the October Revolution, implementing the decisions of the 27th congress of the CPSU, further developing society's productive forces, and improving socialist democracy, notably in the extention of glasnost. In short, I wish success to your reforms.

We would like you to continue to work towards peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament as steadfastly as before. This is all the more imortant as the Soviet Union has experienced all the hardships of war and suffered the greatest losses in the struggle against fascism during World War II. I would like you to enjoy a more just world, more democratic international political and economic relations, better and more equitable cooperation between countries, Communist and Workers' parties, and sronger international solidarity between all the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces on the planet.

We the Communists of Yugoslavia are committed to socialist goals in our country in accordance with our local conditions, and will work tirelessly for peace, peaceful coexistence, mutual understanding in the world and equal cooperation between all countries, progressive and democratic parties and movements. Relations with the U.S.S.R. occupy a significant place in our foreign policy not only in terms of scale but also in terms of their diversity. We are confident that our relations will continue to develop and strengthen on the basis of jointly adopted principles, in the interests of our peoples, for the good of socialism and peace thrughout the world.

Belgrade

U.S.A.

The rat race

●THREE DEMOCRATIC HOPEFULS HAVE ALREADY QUIT THE MARATHON RACE FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

Gary Hart is the most experienced contender. His political opponents have been vociferous in the press over his marital infidelity.

Senator Joseph Biden, the most eloquent Democratic orator, has been accused of plagiarism (he used excerpts from speeches by famous politicians without acknowledging his sources) and of gross exaggeration of his modest success in his studies at law school. All these facts, serious and curious alike, have been played up by the press.

Representative Patricia Schroeder has not been accused of any sin. She withdrew from the race on her own initiative. Though one of the reasons was shortage of money for her campaign, Schroeder's decision was to no small extent influenced by the "psychological attack" mounted against other hopefuls.

The ground is also slipping from under the feet of Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis. He acknowledged recently that his campaign manager had given reporters the information that damaged Biden's reputation. His campaign manager has resigned, but....

Of course, the potential candidates are not pure and holy, and the Democrats' troubles could be explained by the feverish desire to get rid of rivals before the primaries (the first of which is to be held in Iowa next February). But, to my mind, the reasons for the setbacks of the ill-fated contenders are more serious.

Is it fortuitous that all the candidates who have quit the election race take a moderate, pragmatic stand on domestic and foreign policy issues?

Is it fortuitous that Biden and Schroeder announced their decision to step down right after Washington's statement on the prospects of the Soviet-American agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles? The agreement was enthusiastically welcomed by the two candidates and denounced by most of Republican hopefuls.

Is it fortuitous that prominent Democratic Representative Les Aspin hastened to voice his displeasure at the agreement, while Representative Richard Gephardt and Senator Albert Gore, both Democratic hopefuls, said during a recent TV debate in Miami that the United States should stick to the idea of a first nuclear strike and the position of strength policy?

I would reply to all these questions in the negative. The point is that the Democrats are persistently looking for a way of toughening their image, ridding themselves of the "pink" label that the right is trying to pin on them. In the opinion of some Democratic leaders, the party has sustained defeats in the last 20 years only because of its "softness." It was lucky only once, thanks to the Watergate scandal.

Moreover, the present stand of the Reagan administration seems to be cutting the ground from under the feet of its Democratic critics. Republican supporters of the President claim that it was the administration's tough policy that compelled Moscow to accept the first ever agreement abolishing a whole class of armaments. This controversial argument influences many Americans.

True, the Democrats still running for presidential nomination - Jesse Jackson, Senator Paul Simon, former Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt and the above-mentioned Michael Dukakis - are not going to adopt a right-of-Reagan stand. They believe it was public pressure that forced the President to take on the role of a "peacemaker," which is more in tune with the times.

The debate on how the Democrats should outrun their competitors - from right or the left - is bound to flare up soon. But it is, I believe, unlikely to bring the party the advantages it expects, for the ensuing split on foreign policy and defence issues will not enable the Democrats to work out a common electoral strategy.

The situation is being further complicated by the lack of an acknowledged leader. The fuss over the private lives of its contenders is ultimately damaging to the party itself. As a result, only 59 per cent of the Democrats today believe their party will win the 1988 elections. The majority are making conjectures as to who will be out of the running next.

GALINA SIDOROVA

PERU

Strongboxes unlocked

●POLICE STORMED THREE MAJOR BANKS IN THE PERUVIAN CAPITAL AFTER THEIR OWNERS HAD REFUSED TO COMPLY WITH THE LAW ON THE NATIONALIZATION OF PRIVATE CREDIT, FINANCE, AND INSURANCE COMPANIES, WHICH CAME INTO FORCE ON OCTOBER 12.

In accordance with the Congressional decision, the state is taking control of ten private national banks and six financial organizations. The keys to the safes will be handed over to administrative committees which will include representatives of the shareholders, the staff, small and medium entrepreneurs, and investors.

Under the law, at least 51 per cent of the shares in the nationalized and 30 per cent of the shares in the newly created reginal banks, financial and insurance companies will be owned by the state and are designed to stop the outflow of capital from the country. It is an important step towards improving the state of the Peruvian economy, which is burdened by a debt of nearly 14 billion dollars.

Alan Garcia, who won the presidential elections in July 1985, has adhered to his election slogan "Peru first, debt second," and is steadfastly pursuing a course aimed at getting the floundering economy, onto an even keel. The government apparatus is being reorganized, military expenditure is being cut, and payments towards the foreign debt have been limited to 10 per cent of export earnings. But Alan Garcia's policy is already bearing fruit. The country's foreign debt has grown by just 300 million dollars in the last two years as against a growth of 1.2 billion over the preceding two years.

The nationalization law does not cover the subsidiaries of foreign banks based in the country, among which are two major U.S. banks. But they have been forbidden to accept money deposits and to own shares in Peru's national companies.

The clause on the activity of foreign banks and their subsidiaries has caused the biggest controversy in Congress. Left-wing opposition parties say it amounts to the recognition of the foreign banks' "extraterritorial rights." The government's caution may be due to the fact that it is afraid of retaliatory measures such as were taken in 1968, when Washington cut its credits to Peru by seven eighths in response to the nationalization of the International Petroleum Company and some other American enterprises.

As was to be expected, the new law has not been well received by right-wing and centre parties, bankers and big industrialists.

Discord among parliamentarians and lack of political unity within the ruling party have enabled the owners of the companies marked for nationalization to organize an open boycott of Congress's decision. They have declared that they will not leave their offices of their own free will.

Workers and trade unions, while generally welcoming the nationalization, insist that the government should take over all banks and all major private enterprises linked with them.

The country would indisputably benefit from this even more. It is clear, however, that even the present law will have a favourable effect on the economy. It will stop abuses in the credit system, and limit the flow of profits abroad. The government will be able to concentrate considerable resources in its hands to develop key areas of the economy and expand social programmes.

MIKHAIL DMITRIEV

COMMONWEALTH

Sanctions spiked

THE 26th BRITISH COMMONWEALTH SUMMIT HAS AGAIN REVEALED SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LONDON AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION.

The participants in the Vancouver, Canada, summit, held in mid-October, failed (as they had in Nassau, the Bahamas, two years before) to talk the British Prime Minister into using comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Margaret Thatcher continued to insist that the sanctions would hit South Africa's blacks the hardest while leaving the apartheid system intact. Britain only agreed to give extra aid to the "frontline" states. Commenting on the latter's plans to join in the sanctions, the British Prime Minister pointed out that the move would be counter-productive as these states were themselves in need of South African goods.

British official statements are couched in defiant terms which to my mind cannot but tell on relations between London and its former dominions and colonies. This prospect did not stop Britain from rejecting coordinated sanctions against South Africa. The motives are partly explained by experts at the British Royal Institute of International Relations. The British are getting handsome dividends from Pretoria and simply do not want to rock the boat. British exports to the apartheid state alone bring in about a billion pounds sterling a year, and British investments in the South African economy are estimated at two billion.

I believe that, financial considerations apart, the Thatcher government supports Pieter Botha for geopolitical reasons. NATO believes the Pretoria regime alone can "protect" the West's strategic position in that part of the world.

The recent developments in Fiji caused further friction. After Colonel Rabuka, the leader of the military coup, had proclaimed a republic and severed constitutional links with the British Crown, Fiji was expelled from the Commonwealth. In

Step on it! Don't you see our Stingers boomeranging from Afghanistan and Iran!
Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

Rajiv Gandhi's view the coup was of a racial character, its target being the archipelago's large Indian community. Some other members of the community, however, do not share this opinion.

YURI KUDIMOV

NATO

Who is to take over?

● THE NATO COUNTRIES ARE WRANGLING OVER THE POST OF SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ALLIANCE, WHICH BECOMES VACANT WITH THE RESIGNATION OF LORD CARRINGTON, 68, NEXT JUNE.

By NATO tradition, the candidates are not announced officially. The successor is determined in the course of secret talks, and is then "made an offer." But this time tradition has been broken with. In August, Norway nominated its former premier Kare Willoch for the post. Shortly afterwards, Bonn named its candidate - Defence Minister Manfred Wörner.

The public rivalry has sparked off a heated debate in the alliance. The nationality of a candidate is a factor of no small importance in the choice. West German representatives have not previously run. In the first postwar decades their nationality was regarded as a limitation. Today, many observers believe, this limitation has become an advantage. The Federal Republic, they say, has the strongest army in Western Europe, holding "the main line of the Western defence." By its loyalty to NATO, West Germany "has earned" the right to have its representative become the seventh secretary-general of the alliance.

Some reach a similar conclusion from diametrically opposite positions regarding such an appointment not as a deserved reward but as a sort of advance payment. Apprehension is being voiced in a number of Atlantic capitals, Time magazine noted, that at some time in the future Bonn could become more interested in détente with the East than in fulfilling its commitments to NATO.

The Norwegians are placing the emphasis on democracy. The top political post in the North Atlantic alliance, they say, has already been occupied by representatives of Central and South European countries, and the time has therefore come to choose a northerner.

However, a candidate for the post of NATO secretary-general is picked mainly for his political views and proficiency. Manfed Wörner has the reputation of a "hawk." "An opponent of disarmament, a man close to military-industrial circles, he regards the strengthening of military power and of ties with the United States as essential to the policy of security," says the Belgian newspaper Le Soir. Indeed, the West German defence minister opposes the dismantling of medium- and shorter-range missiles, and actively champions European SDI and the consolidation of the "European pillar" of NATO.

Newsmen who sympathize with Manfred Wörner are trying to give him publicity. The defence minister, they say, is a Lieutenant Colonel (reserve), and an experienced military flier. If he becomes secretary-general of the alliance, the NATO steering wheel will be in reliable hands. Other people stress that Wörner is a good athlete. He usually plays centre-forward, they note, and this is characteristic. He will also be on the attack in the Atlantic team.

Kare Willoch, his supporters say, is not a football player or a military flier. But, as distinct from his rival, he is an experienced politician and a skilful diplomat. He heads the foreign relations committee of the Norwegian parliament and is chairman of the International Democratic Union, which unites the conservative parties of the West. An advocate of strong defence, Willock, at the same time, favours peaceful dialogue with the East, and the search for a peaceful settlement of disputes.

Following the visit of U.S. Vice-President George Bush to Western Europe, the West German press and anonymous sources of every kind have been claiming that the matter has practically been decided: the United States, France, Britain, Italy and the Benelux countries are giving preference to Manfred Wörner, and therefore Willoch has no choice but quietly to withdraw his candidature.

Statements of this kind have aroused resentment in Norway, with the press accusing Bonn of conducting a "bulldozer policy."

To damp the passions, it has been agreed that the name of the new secretary-general of NATO will be made public at the beginning of next year.

VYACHESLAV BOIKOV
Brussels

VANUATU

"Non-grata" again

● THE GOVERNMENT OF VANUATU HAS EXPELLED THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND A MEMBER OF A COOPERATION MISSION ON CHARGES OF INTERFERING IN THE REPUBLIC'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

The expulsion is not without precedent. In 1980, New Hebrides - as the archipelago was then called - became independent after seventy years of colonial domination by Britain and France. Contrary to all the expectations and plans nurtured on the Champs-Elysées, the progressive Vanuatu Party (VP) headed by Prime Minister Walter Lini came to power in the South Pacific territory and determined to break away from the "parent states." The VP declared against the French nuclear tests in the region and demanded that the Kanaks of New Caledonia be granted the right to self-determination. Yves Rodriguez, the first French ambassador to Vanuatu, objected strongly, so much so that Prime Minister Lini had to expel him from the country at 24 hours' notice.

The past six years have seen virtually no change in France's attitude to Vanuatu. Gaston Flosse, Secretary of State under the Minister for Overseas Departments and Territories, said last year that France would cut its economic aid to Vanuatu if the latter persisted in its aggressive stance with regard to France. The "aid" was indeed cut: credits went down by 10 per cent in 1986 and by 20 per cent in 1987. This, however, failed to bring the results France had expected. Vanuatu's ambassador to the United Nations continued to raise the issue of New Caledonia at the Special Committee on Decolonization and at the U.N. General Assembly (where New Caledonia is not represented), and demanded an immediate end to nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll.

Prime Minister Walter Lini explained the recent expulsion of the French ambassador as follows: "The government of Vanuatu regrets that despite repeated assurances of the French embassy in Vila to the effect that the government of France has no intention of interfering in the country's internal affairs, there is irrefutable evidence of the French ambassador having rendered considerable financial support to the leaders of the Moderate Parties' Union since June 12, 1987." This is a serious charge in view of the fact that the next elections are due in Vanuatu on November 30, and that the Moderate Parties' Union is opposed to the policy of the present government.

IRINA LAGUNINA

Time to make a start

believe the West German CDU Bundestag members who visited the Soviet Union

A group of Christian Democrats in the West German Bundestag, along with defence and disarmament experts from the CDU faction, recently paid the first ever visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. It was led by Willy Wimmer, a leading member of the Bundestag and its defence committee.

Interviewed by New Times a year ago, Wimmer said that "in the Soviet Union we should like to see not only 'the factor of strength' that it is, but also a state seeking in earnest to join hands with us in tackling difficult problems."

Our conversation began with Wimmer's reply to the question of whether he has changed his mind since then.

"I would put it differently today. We are witnessing an interesting process in the Soviet Union. It does more than merely excite interest in our country. We welcome it. Our sojourn in Moscow has helped us understand that this process was initiated not because Soviet society had reached a deadlock in its developoment. No, it is searching for effective ways of solving its outstanding problems. Our trip would hardly have been possible had it not been for the policy of the new Soviet leadership.

"To tell the truth, we would like to learn more about the basic guidelines of Soviet foreign policy and the nature of relations between the government and the people. Our conversations with members of the Supreme Soviet, officials at the Defence Ministry and scientists were held in a frank atmosphere, while the visit to the Taman division was a real eye-opener for us. It's a pity we didn't have cameramen with us. Will people at home beleive our stories without a film?

"We laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin wall and at the Piskarevskoye cemetery where victims of the siege of Leningrad are buried, and visited the cemetery for German POWs."

Our conversation touched on the question of Franco-West German military cooperation, and Willy Wimmer voiced his concern over "Soviet superiority in conventional armaments."

"Our military partnership with the United States and France," he went on, "is not determined by the 'either or' principle: either with the Americans or with the French, but by the 'both...and' principle. True, in its relations with its allies each country should pursue its own interests. Under Konrad Adenauer, the Federal Republic declared that it would not acquire nuclear, biological or chemical weapons provided the United States guaranteed nuclear cover for it. Today the Soviet Union's superiority in conventional armaments in Europe does not enable us effectively to fulfil our security obligations without French support. Therefore we are interested in the presence of French troops in the Federal Republic."

I felt it would be unproductive to start a discussion on the correlation between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty armed forces, a problem that is nothing new, and decided to find out what Willy Wimmer thought about the recent Soviet proposals on reducing nuclear arms and banning chemical weapons.

"The agreement on a reduction of medium- and shorter-range missiles, reached in principle by the United States and the Soviet Union, seems important to us," he replied. "It became possible after the Federal Republic had stated that it would not modernize the Pershing IA missiles. But we are sober politicians, and it is not our habit to take risks in matters of security. The nuclear weapon is a political one, in our opinion. As long as nuclear weapons possessing monstrous destructive power exist, people will be confident that a war is impossible, as our continent would not survive one.

"We vigorously advocate a ban on nuclear weapons," Wimmer pointed out. "It is highly likely that chemical weapons may be found in the zone of a conventional armed conflict, and that any damage caused to them may lead to disastrous consequences. Uppermost in our minds now is the Soviet Union's statement to the effect that a convention on the complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons will be signed very soon, and we also enthusiastically welcomed the news that the destruction of chemical ammunition had been demonstrated at Shikhany."

Our conversation led logically to the idea that the search for compromises is necessary, and I asked Wimmer how he imagined our "common European home."

"It should be a home for peoples with equal rights," he replied. "We would not agree if the Soviet Union, for instance, occupied a box in it and the other Europeans, the stalls. Nor do we demand special apartments for the Germans.

"I have no wish to interfere in your internal affairs, but I cannot help noting that in the Warsaw Treaty countries the relationships between citizens and the state do not always conform to generally accepted norms. Yet the peaceful intentions of a state are judged by how it treats its citizens.

"Changes for the better have begun in the Soviet Union and, I think, no Soviet government will now want to stop this process. In the 70 years of Soviet power quite a few economic reforms have been undertaken and attempts made to improve the well-being of the people. However, the reforms initiated by Mr Gorbachev will bring more results than all the previous changes. What have I seen in your country enables me to look ahead more confidently, since what is vitally important to the Soviet Union is also of interest to other peoples in our 'common European home.'

Willy Wimmer lays a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on behalf of the CDU delegation.

Photo by V. Ryasin

"Whether we like it or not," Willy Wimmer stressed, "we have to live with each other in peace. Though the interests of the Federal Republic reflect the interests of a different social system, we must treat the people living between Brest and Vladivostok as our neighbours. Frederick II once said: 'Everyone should be magnanimous in his own way.' It is a formula for political and moral tolerance.

"It is not easy to understand one's neighbour and treat him with sympathy in the present atmosphere of prejudice and distrust," Wimmer said in conclusion. "But the time at last comes when a start has to be made."

Interviewer: KONSTANTIN ISAKOV

Nobel Prize for President Sanchez

Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez has been awarded the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Central American problems, culminating in the signing on August 7 of the final document, "Ways of Establishing a Durable and Lasting Peace in Central America."

Immediately after the agreement reached in Guatemala had been signed by the heads of five states, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said they had become possible thanks to the tireless efforts of the whole world community, including the Contadora group, the Contadora support group, the European Economic Community, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the non-aligned movement.

Welcoming the Guatemala accord, the Soviet government noted that it allows the countries involved to take practical steps towards resolving the conflict in the region.

And how did Washington react to the news that the Nobel Peace Prize had gone to the President of Costa Rica?

CBS reported on October 14 that supporters of President Reagan and other opponents of the Sandinist government had been enraged. They described the Nobel Committee's decision as an attempt to submerge the Nicaraguan contra movement.

As for the President himself, who had just asked Congress for 270 million dollars in extra aid to the contras, he decided to observe the proprieties and sent a message of greetings to Arias Sanchez. True, he immediately hinted that the United States intends to continue to aid the contras.

Having learned of the Nobel Committee's decision, I phoned Enrique Mora, a Costa Rican journalist and an old friend of mine.

"Naturally the news has met with a favourable response here," he replied. "The newspaper La Republica carried a frontpage headline reading 'Central America Rejoices.'"

Daniel Ortega was the first head of state in the region to congratulate the Costa Rican President on the award. "Your initiative and efforts," he wrote, "are helping to establish a durable and lasting peace in Central America and boosting the constructive work begun in this direction by the Contadora group."

Oscar Arias Sanchez.

The biography of the new Nobel Peace Prize winner does not give Western lovers of stereotypes the slightest grounds to label him as a Marxist or a member of a "communist plot." Oscar Arias Sanchez, 44, comes from a rich family that owns coffee and sugarcane plantations in Costa Rica. He did not study in Moscow or Havana. Sanchez studied law at home and economics in London. In Britain, he also received a Ph.D. in political sciences.

Sanchez has been director of the National Autonomous University and the Institute of Technology, and director of the Central Bank of Costa Rica. Till the beginning of 1984 he held the post of general secretary of the right-wing Social Democratic National Liberation Party, and today he heads its political committee. In February 1986 Sanchez was elected president of the republic, and will hold office till May 8, 1990.

Enrique Mora believes that Arias Sanchez rightly sensed the peaceful aspirations of his people and their striving not for abstract peace but for a climate in the region that would enable the nation to develop.

The appearance of such a leader in the world political arena seems to be a happy sign of the times, a success for the new thinking that gives priority to universal interests.

The Reagan administration had tried hard to move Costa Rica from its traditional policy of neutrality and drag it into conflict with neighbouring Nicaragua, and it should be said that to some extent it had succeeded. Under the previous president, Luis Alberto Monge, Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries were given a virtually free hand in Costa Rica. The areas bordering on Nicaragua became a refuge for contras.

The situation changed after Arias Sanchez was elected president, my Costa Rican colleague told me. He openly came out against the presence of Nicaraguan contras in the country and barred them from entering it. One White House emissary after another went to San Jose, putting both political and economic pressure on Cosa Rica. It will be recalled that this small country has a foreign debt running to almost five billion dollars.

Meanwhile, Arias Sanchez was drawing up a broad plan for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the region. The plan, made public early this year, was fiercely attacked by conservative pro-U.S. circles in the country. But the President held firm and used every opportunity to stress: "Only in conditions of peace can we Costa Ricans achieve the economic development so needed by the country." He continued his efforts for an improvement of the situation in Central America.

The peace forces of the region believe that the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Arias Sanchez will strengthen the position of those in Central America who desire peace and to some extent impede the militarist actions of the United States, the more so as Managua adheres strictly to the spirit and letter of the Guatemala accord.

"No one desires peace as passionately as do the people of Nicaragua, as Nicaraguan mothers, and I therefore urge the government of that country to show flexibility and tolerance," the new Nobel Peace Prize winner said in his address broadcast by Radio Sandino. "It is now important as never before that we do not fail, and that we justify the hopes of 25 million Central Americans."

VADIM NIZSKY

IN FRONT OF MILLIONS

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY

For the second time in just under a month, millions in the Soviet Union and the United States were given the opportunity to learn the different views of the legislators of the two countries on pressing problems by means of a satellite TV linkup between the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and U.S. Congress. At the end of September they discussed the new thinking called for by the nuclear age. On October 15 the discussion centred on human rights.

This is a new form of political dialogue and therefore it merits a special commentary. During the first talk, telecast live, Soviet legislators seemed rather reserved; moreover, the number of participants - five on each side, the comperes included - was insufficient to keep the discussion going at a dynamic pace. The recent TV bridge showed that the participants had learned much from the previous experience. Two Soviet and two American panelists conducted the talk in a more lively manner. Our show host, Leonid Zolotarevsky, cut a most impressive figure. As for the Americans, one would have liked their free and easy manner better if it had not occasionally bordered on incivility.

High on the agenda was the all important question of how we should continue to live together on this planet. On more than one occasion the Americans suggested that we should do this and that in our own country and change our way of life in order to demonstrate that we want the two nations to become closer and that, in general, we are sane human beings, by U.S. standards, naturally.

Is that a constructive proposal? Is it reasonable to lay down terms for a great country with its own history, traditions, and laws? Do those who adopt such a stance take that into account? There is every reason to believe that they do. One has the impression that some members of Congress were appealing to their own conservative voters rather than to their opposite numbers in the U.S.S.R. Elections are not far off and they are thinking of getting votes well in advance.

What should one's attitude be to the claim made during the latest TV linkup that Soviet society has not even returned to the standards of tsarist times, when people were supposedly free to leave the country and when the opposition newspaper Pravda was sold freely in the streets?

Claims of that kind cannot even be attributed to the heat of the debate. Thousands upon thousands of people were fleeing from tsarist standards, rather than leaving of their own free will. They escaped from hunger, lawlessness, pogroms and poverty. Throughout the five years that it was published prior to the revolution, Pravda was repeatedly raided by the secret police. Its printing works were ransacked and its distributors were jailed. Can such incompetent judgements of each other go any distance towards strengthening trust?

During the latest TV dialogue, the American side repeatedly raised the issue of one individual case or another of some Soviet citizen not having been allowed to leave the Soviet Union. True, human contacts and family reunions are an important aspect of the problem of human rights. Deputy Vadim Zagladin explained patiently and in great detail, with facts and figures in hand, that an overwhelming majority of those who sought permission to leave have left. A few people, whose employment brought them into contact with classified information, had their applications rejected for a certain period of time. But there still appeared on the TV screen at the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium the face of another wronged "refusnik."

Tears in an upset lady's eyes will certainly leave few people cold. Separation from someone near and dear to you is indeed a tragedy. A private tragedy for the two persons involved. Every effort must be made, of course, so that people can live a life worthy of human beings and be spared such dramas. But why reduce the entire huge human rights problem to such cases? Won't this relegate some very important aspects of it to the background? Doesn't this divert public opinion into emotionalizing individual cases of split families? The right to leave one country for another is not the most important human right. What about the human right to life, or the human right not to go hungry, homeless, unemployed, or illiterate? How do the social and political systems of the U.S.S.R. and U.S. assure these rights to their citizens?

The Soviet panel could easily have raised the issue of the imperfections of U.S. society. They could, for instance, have asked whether the U.S. authorities violate human rights by not allowing researchers working at the munitions factories in Silicon Valley in California to leave the country, but that would only amount to more mutual recrimination.

In response to the American opponents' attacks Moscow advanced realistic proposals reflecting the fresh approach taken by the Soviet legislators to the most complex and delicate problems of the world today. I must say that I liked Vadim Zagladin's proposals for their constructiveness. They come down to the following:

- U.S. Congress and the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet could compile annual or biannual reports on the human rights situations in the two countries and exchange them. These reports could be published.

- A standing commission of representatives of the two parliaments could be formed to deal with individual cases.

- The legislators of the two countries could work on the problem of acceding to international legal acts that have not yet been signed by them.

- They could discuss the effect of the international legal obligations assumed by the two countries on their domestic legislation and ways of improving the situation in this area.

The Soviet legislators also invited their U.S. counterparts to take part in an international conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow.

Is this an indication that the Soviet Union is certain that in any future discussion it will be able to demonstrate that all is perfectly well with the human rights situation here? Not at all, and that is what the Soviet panel said. There is certainly room for further action, but there is no getting away from the changes for the better manifested above all in openness, the elections of many categories of managers, and the proposed reform of Soviet legislation. And what about Soviet newsmen's persistent efforts to expose the shadier sides of the activities of our law-enforcement agencies? Isn't this a manifestation of concern for human rights? The very rights that we ourselves used to put in inverted commas in our articles? There are changes under way in the Soviet Union, but it would be quite wrong to assume that they proceed under pressure from the West or that they are conducted in order to make us better liked by the West. We are carrying out these reforms because we want to like ourselves better, and there are several things that we want to change, in the sphere of human rights included.

■

DOUBLE STRATEGY—DOUBLE ERROR

NIKOLAI PORTUGALOV

Monsieur Pierre Lellouche, vice-director of the French Institute of International Relations, may reproach me with plagiarism. The Paris newspaper Le Monde recently carried his article entitled "Double zero - double danger." The two headings are indeed somewhat similar, but, as the reader will probably guess, I have chosen mine intentionally, indeed, I do not hesitate to say, with the express purpose of starting a polemic. Let me explain at once that the word "polemic" is used here only in the sense of discussion, a collective discussion between experts - "en expert," as the French say.

The very heading of Pierre Lellouche's article clearly indicates that he does not agree with "double zero" on medium- and short-range missiles, considering it "a double danger for (Western) Europe." At the beginning of his article Lellouche cites with resentment masquerading as irony Caspar Weinberger's slighting reference to critics of a possible agreement on these missiles as "all these experts imbued with their own importance." Since the U.S. Defence Secretary "flings mud at experts," Lellouche promises, "leaving technicalities aside," to consider INF agreement "simply from the standpoint of the common sense of an average citizen."

It was a rash promise, and I can say right away that the French foreign affairs expert did not succeed in fulfilling it. Politics today is perhaps in urgent need of common sense. But common sense is for all intents and purposes out of the question when nuclear weapons are stubbornly regarded as the linchpin of national security and policy for all time, while national security is considered, as before, "a thing in itself" in no way related to the security of other members of the world community.

I am not at all disposed to underrate such highly skilled experts as Pierre Lellouche. It is politicians who upbraid experts. As for the experts themselves, they usually treat each other with respect. The vice-director of the French Institute of International Relations is, of course, not an "average citizen," but a leading member of the French political élite.

The idea of the "double zero" on medium- and short-range missiles and in general of a nuclear-free Europe is opposed by many in France, with top politicians, experts and journalists among them. Some articles have more scathing headings than the one by Lellouche - "Zero option: Munich II," for instance. But of the numerous expositions of the Paris stand on the question, I have chosen Lellouche's chiefly because it is written in plain language and in the brilliant style characteristic of French experts.

Everything in his article seems convincing. What is false, however, is its basic premise. The impression is that a deliberately wrong programme had been fed into an excellent computer. Albert Enstein once said in jest that the main thing is the starting point. With an appropriate starting point, even the Ptolemaic system will look as impeccable as the heliocentric one.

The point is that the French political and military elite are basing their strategy exclusively on nuclear weapons and, as Mikhail Gorbachev said, are trying persistently to convince the world (first themselves and then the average citizen) that "the road to the abyss is the most correct one." It may be that the elite cannot yet imagine another way to the national security of France. Disappointment will then be even more bitter.

What is removed or held back

The content of Lellouche's article can be succinctly expressed in a few words: by scrapping its Pershing 2 and Pershing 1 missiles in exchange for the dismantling of the SS-20s, "which constitute a mere five per cent of the Soviet nuclear potential," NATO has forfeited the only weapon capable of hitting the territory of the U.S.S.R. and its allies from European soil.

As a result, the U.S. nuclear guarantees to the European members of NATO have evaporated, the two great powers have concluded a kind of nuclear non-aggression pact at the expense of Europe, NATO's strategy of flexible response is blasted, and a new strategy must now be worked out urgently. But whatever it might be, this strategy must be based on nuclear deterrence, as only such deterrence can counterbalance both the nuclear power and the superior conventional and chemical weapon potential of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Analyzing the strategic situation in the European region of NATO, the French expert resorts to an old trick, unworthy of a man of his standing: he ignores, removes and occasionally holds back anything that does not suit him. Let us begin with the above-mentioned controversy with Caspar Weinberger. Advocating the "double zero" by virtue of his office, the Defence Secretary said it would not require modifications in NATO or whittle away the American guarantees.

Lellouche mentions this point of Weinberger's, but considers it erroneous. The Defence Secretary, however, explained that hundreds, indeed thousands of other American nuclear weapon systems capable of reaching targets on Soviet territory would remain in the European region of NATO. Among them are aircraft, missiles on American submarines attached to the bloc, and many other weapons.

Lellouche seems to keep all these systems out of the argument contending that tactical nuclear weapons, "the military utility of which is more than doubtful," and the Anglo-French national systems continue to be the only means of nuclear deterrence in Europe.

The use of tactical nuclear weapons with a range of less than 500 km deployed along the dividing line of the two blocs is "more than doubtful," of course. As Lellouche himself admits, they can "intimidate" only the Germans in the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. on whose territories they will explode. How to explain, then, the vigorous opposition of the author, and of many French political leaders, to a "third zero in Europe"? As for the British and French nuclear systems, why are they worse than Pershing 2s if nuclear deterrence is regarded as a panacea?

One question follows another, and the arguments obviously do not hold water. Lellouche himself notes that the new strategic situation in Europe still needs "unbiassed analysis." But for the present only one thing is clear to him: the West should preserve nuclear deterrence at any cost, because a non-nuclear Europe is for him the ultimate evil.

This is so, he says, because Western Europe is today unable to ensure its security without American nuclear guaran-

tees, while these guarantees are not convincing without a U.S. nuclear presence on the continent. If the U.S. nuclear presence were eliminated (the American missiles which Lellouche fails to mention), other forms of nuclear deterrence - not yet clear today - would have to be thought of.

It is here that Lellouche omits the main point. He speaks of Soviet superiority as axiomatic, without troubling to furnish proof. To an "ordinary citizen" of common sense, it is argued, everything is clear even without proof, and we French experts have done our best to ensure this.

Following the example of Pierre Lellouche, I shall not go into "technical details" - the numerous manipulations and exaggerations from which the NATO strategists have drawn their conclusion on the Warsaw Treaty's superiority in conventional armaments. One of the main tricks here is that the French military potential is not counted, being deemed to bear no relation to the North Atlantic bloc. The inquiring reader can be advised in this connection to see an article by Antoine Sanguinetti published in a recent issue of Le Monde Diplomatique. In his article, "Military Balance between the Two Blocs in Armed Forces and Armaments," the retired French vice-admiral cites figures that explode the myth of Soviet superiority.

We are already used to fact-juggling by experts. But here is something more striking. Lellouche conducts his "lucid analysis" as if absolutely nothing had changed in Soviet strategy and foreign policy in the little over a year since the Reykjavik summit, as if the new thinking - achieved by us through much suffering in the full sense of the word - had not prevailed in Soviet foreign policy.

One surprising lesson of Reykjavik for us was that Europe was not prepared to accept non-nuclear status as outlined at the summit. This shows how accustomed the West European countries have become to American guarantees and how far they have come to believe in the myth of the "Soviet threat." "I've not yet learned to live without you," the young Piccolomini says to Wallenstein in Schiller's works.

Moscow quickly drew its conclusion and met Western Europe halfway on a wide range of issues. The medium-range and, later, short-range missiles were removed from the Reykjavik package in the belief that, whatever the stratagems of flexible response might be, none of the West European countries where the new American missiles are deployed will survive a nuclear conflict. Moscow also agreed to remove from the "medium-range equation" the Anglo-French systems which belong for the most part to this class of missiles, and the Europe-based U.S. systems mentioned above by Weinberger. This was a major concession.

The Soviet Union admitted in this way that by deploying SS-20 missiles it had tried to build security overkill without considering how this step would be interpreted by the Europeans.

It went even further, proposing to NATO that negotiations be started on conventional armaments and tactical nuclear weapons with due regard for the existing imbalances on both sides, according to the principle that in each class of armaments bigger cuts are made by the country having superiority in these armaments.

The ultimate goal of such negotiations would be to determine the limits of reasonable sufficiency - the quality of weapons needed for a "non-offensive defence" that objectively excludes the very possibility of attack. This goal could be achieved after the withdrawal from Europe of nuclear and other types of essentially offensive weapons of mass destruction. Finally, the Soviet Union has provided conditions for the early prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

In short, Moscow has made the building of a common European home one of the chief objectives of its comprehensive security system in a future non-violent world.

Drawing by N. Shcherbakov

All this would probably have impressed the average Frenchman, M. Dupont, had he not been confused by experts. The Vienna talks on conventional armaments are proceeding at a snail's pace, with the West still insisting that tactical nuclear weapons and even dual-purpose systems should not be a subject of discussion. Incidentally, Bonn would have no objection to discussing these weapons, but it is being strenuously restrained by London, and, more particularly, Paris.

Why is Paris so vigorously opposed to any disarmament steps in Europe? Why has it become the main obstacle in the way of military détente and hence, at the present time, détente as such - that brainchild of de Gaulle? Why is Paris doing everything in its power to perpetuate nuclear confrontation in our common home?

Does it really believe nuclear war to be fatally inevitable and is it therefore preparing for it? That is unlikely, we think. Indeed, the "nuclear non-aggression pact" for which Paris is rebuking the great powers has long been the core of French nuclear strategy. What is permitted to France is not permitted to others. Is not that so, M. Lellouche? Paris declared in favour of Pershing missiles, but on one indispensable condition: there could be no question of deploying them on French soil.

What is then the matter? France seems to be trying to derive political benefits from its nuclear arsenal and thus to gain political superiority over its economically stronger European rivals. For this purpose it wants to preserve nuclear confrontation. For this purpose it is returning to NATO through the back door, presenting itself to Washington as "the European pillar of the alliance" (a peculiar neo-Gaullism, this?) For this purpose it continues to fan the Soviet threat hysteria.

Such is the first part of the French strategy - the sacred egoism of national policy. But is it reasonable? Blocking the way to a nuclear-free Europe and a non-violent world for the sake of narrowly selfish interests is unseemly, and is unlikely to bear good fruit. The illusoriness of the French strategy will be even clearer if we examine the second part and see how French strategy planners and analysts hope to derive political dividends from their nuclear arsenal.

Cards on the table

In the concluding part of his article, Pierre Lellouche puts his cards on the

table. It is more likely than not, he writes, that Bonn will try to get rid of tactical nuclear weapons (the use of which threatens the F.R.G. alone) by agreeing to destroy them in exchange for the disbanding of Soviet tank units in the course of future talks on the stability of conventional armaments.

Is this a bad deal? It is apparently a good deal for the West Germans. But for Europe, the author believes, it would be a terrible deal because it would pave the way for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and thus sharply aggravate the military situation on the continent.

But what has Europe to do with this? Such a course of events does not suit Paris or, more exactly, does not fit in with its present economic policy and strategy. In the last lines of his article, Lellouche arrives at the conclusion that in view of the above, a "double zero for Europe is not an opportunity but rather a formidable challenge which can only be accepted if current strategic developments are subjected to a lucid and not an opportunist analysis."

The author does not reveal the results of this analysis. But they can easily be logically divined. Lellouche and some other of his colleagues evidently have in mind the establishment within NATO of an autonomous Franco-West German alliance with joint defences on the Elbe, the forward lines. What is most important, however, is that France's strategic nuclear guarantees, rather than unreliable American ones, will be extended to the F.R.G., and that Bonn and Paris will be able to organize cooperation in the field of nuclear armaments. Much is being written about this today in France.

The West Germans may then hold on to the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons and NATO's nuclear-equipped bombers stationed on their territory, and deploying the French tactical Hades missiles that are to be fully developed by then - all this in exchange for the reliable guarantees provided by the use of forces de frappe for the "defence" of the F.R.G.

It should be said that this plan entails considerable risks for Paris even within its present national strategy. It is not for nothing that for the time being French leaders are sedulously avoiding talking about nuclear guarantees for the F.R.G., leaving it to their experts to put out feelers.

These plans meet with sympathy on the right-wing fringe of the West German political spectrum, for they hold out the prospect of eventually drawing closer to the nuclear button - little by little, of course, or the French won't let. First, the distribution of targets, then the double lock and powerful industrial and financial participation in the expansion of forces de frappe. Later on, some "cooperated systems" a la Pershing 1 will appear, and then... a breath-taking prospect.

But most of politically sensible West Germans treat these French plans - not yet fully formed - with well-founded scepticism and are not inclined to overestimate the initial steps in Bonn-Paris military cooperation, like the much-talked-about Moineau hardi (Daring Sparrow) exercises. Incidentally, Lellouche himself does not overestimate these exercises, regarding them as a tactical move in the political game.

As for the broad West German public, the picture is even clearer. Here is a single convincing excerpt from Süddeutsche Zeitung: "It is feared here that France will turn us into an instrument of its strategy. In other words, all French initiatives (in the field of military cooperation with the F.R.G. - **N.P.**) ...are taken as attempts to link the 'German glacis' firmly to France and prevent the Germans sliding into neutralism."

This idea can be developed further. By assigning the Federal Republic the role of a French nuclear glacis, regarding the two German states as the only theoretically conceivable nuclear battlefield in Europe, and drawing Bonn into an autonomous anti-Soviet military alliance within NATO, Paris is trying first of all to weaken its economically more powerful competitor, make the F.R.G. dependent on France in the political and military fields, and - if the worst comes to the worst - use the West Germans as a shield.

Incidentally, this is a continuation in the nuclear age of the policy pursued by Richelieu and Louis XIV in relation to the Germans. ("Messieurs, burn Palatinate," the Roi-Soleil told his marshals when he was testy.) No wonder the West Germans, and especially the "ordinary citizens" on whose common sense Lellouche counts, treat this policy with justified mistrust, no matter how it is disguised.

And what if the West Germans refuse to exchange the doubtful American guarantees for even more doubtful French ones when they are offered them? If, moreover, on sober reflection, the West Germans, as Lellouche puts it, nevertheless exchange the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons for Soviet tanks? If, in general, the West Germans take the course of establishing a zone in Central Europe with thinned-out armaments and, then, non-offensive defence on both sides of the dividing line, the course of building a common European home that is safe and comfortable for them?

If that does not suit NATO, why can't it be presumed that Bonn, guided by its national interests and following the example of Paris, will - when the opportunity arises - withdraw from the military organization of the North Atlantic Alliance? The example of France shows that this is in no sense tantamount to neutralism. Be frank, M. Lellouche, you fear such a turn of events. Indeed, on what can the policy of Richelieu with regard to the Germans then be based in the nuclear age? On a French military presence in the Federal Republic - a couple of divisions in Baden? Let them stay there till doomsday or till they get tired of their presence.

A realistic course is possible

Some three years ago we were still talking, given the opportunity or in its absence of "special friendly relations with France." As if remembering the days of de Gaulle, we insisted that European détente still existed, though, as it has at last become clear today, détente is not compatible with the implementation of huge military programmes by both sides.

But even then some observers asked themselves: What is the basis for these "special and friendly relations"? We held opposite positions on the issue of nuclear armaments. In the sphere of economic ties France was being outstripped by other West European partners of the Soviet Union. Moreover, in no other country did the mass media attack the Soviet Union so fiercely as in France - across the whole political spectrum. Incidentally, the French media are still engaged in a virulent anti-Soviet campaign. What remained was only sympathy for French civilization and culture, experienced by us as by all Europeans, and recollections of the glorious past. This does not seem enough for special relations.

At this point we can imagine a French partner appearing on the scene and saying reassuringly that a basis for special relations does exist, that our two countries are guarantors of the postwar arrangement in Europe. We may object by saying that Paris has signed numerous Atlantic declarations in support of the "reunification of Germany in conditions of freedom," and so on. In reply, we might hear: comment? Perhaps somebody else advocated reunification, but not the French. Francois Mauriac once said: We love Germany so much that we want there to be two of them. As for declarations, they were signed on purpose. After all, we signed them with our allies.

Well, there can perhaps be no doubt about that. It is to be supposed that Paris is not striving for the reunification of Germany and that our standpoint, as expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev - "there are two German states with differing socio-economic systems and with their own values; the two German states are today a reality" - meets with no objections in France.

But on other issues our views differ again. The present French strategy assigns both German states the role of, respecti-

vely, the Western and the Eastern glacis opposed to each other, saturated with foreign nuclear weapons, and separated from each other by a nuclear missile fence and an impenetrable border.

In our view, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany can make a tangible contribution to the cause of peace in Europe. They can cooperate with each other, on the basis of full sovereign equality, in all spheres - from disarmament to the economy and humanitarian issues, with the height of frontier barriers directly depending on the level of their good-neighbourly relations.

It should be said for the sake of clarity that the recent visit of Erich Honecker to the Federal Republic, far from arousing any concern among Soviet news analysts (as distinct from their French counterparts), is viewed as a major success of the diplomacy of our ally, the German Democratic Republic.

Speaking in the Saar, his homeland, Erich Honecker noted that if the two German states succeed in establishing cooperation for the sake of peace, the day will come when their borders will unite, not divide, them. In our opinion, these words are an example of the foresight and political wisdom of the German Communist statesman.

We hope that sooner or later the main political forces in the Federal Republic will come to the conclusion that the national interests of their country are incompatible with either the role of an American "continental sword" or the less envious role of a French "nuclear glacis," that the future of Germans is a peaceful, secure life in our common European home, in the two German states rid of the world's largest stockpiles of weapons, states from which weapons of mass destruction, then offensive armaments in general and, in the longer term, foreign military presence will be removed.

M. Lellouche would probably agree that such a course is quite realistic once the Germans really want to adopt it. And if simultaneously progress is achieved in the reduction of Soviet and U.S. strategic armaments, then Paris will just have to realize that France cannot indefinitely stand aloof from the highroad of disarmament and détente.

French strategic planners will perhaps then believe that the steadily growing national nuclear forces are an inordinate burden for the country, a burden that prevents French export industries from catching up with their West German (and for that matter Italian) competitors.

Common sense will then tell French experts that their present strategy, as one of Napoleon's associates said, is worse than a crime because it is a mistake - a double mistake.

■

KNOTTY PROBLEMS REMAIN

Kenji Yamaya, Moscow correspondent of the Hokkaido Shimbun, called on the New Times editorial office a few days before the election of a new chairman of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party (who automatically combines this office with that of Prime Minister). Mr Yamaya asked his Soviet colleagues what "mandate" they would like to give the future head of the Japanese government.

His request caught me unawares. At first, I wasn't entirely sure it would be well advised to comply at all; our "mandate" might well be taken as interference in another country's internal affairs. However, a journalist is not a diplomat, and is not supposed to use his tongue to conceal his opinions; quite the contrary.... So I told Mr Yamaya our readers would welcome efforts by the new Prime Minister to improve Soviet-Japanese relations. As I said this I certainly realized the magnitude of the task: too many problems had accumulated that needed to be resolved, and our perception of each other is marred by mistrust inherited from the past.

Geographical proximity has not made our relations any friendlier. Rather, the contrary has been the case. It looks as if countries which are far apart have fewer bones to pick with each other.

The election date brought back to us an event that left an indelible mark on the history of our relations. Sixty-five years ago, on October 25, 1922, Japanese troops were forced to leave Vladivostok. True, that did not put an end to the Japanese occupation of Soviet territory: the northern part of Sakhalin was liberated three years later, and the south of the island had to be taken by force of arms in August, 1945.

On the Maritime Territory, the Japanese reign of terror lasted for four years. New Times has written about it on several occasions. Japanese generals had thousands of Soviet citizens murdered.

Such were the beginnings of relations between Japan and the young Soviet Republic. While leaving us to grieve over the tragic events and innocent victims, the episode left the Japanese military, on the other hand, determined to achieve their ends at all costs. Years later, the Khasan and the Khalkhin Gol incidents occurred. The Kwantung Army was all set for a thrust northward....

After World War II, mutual suspicion and mistrust, far from abating, intensified. The list of recriminations and claims kept growing. Sometimes one has the feeling that the knot is impossible to untie... Unless, that is, major mutual concessions are made and bold decisions (which seem inconceivable within the framework of habitual notions and traditions) are made. Who can take up this challenge?

It was impossible to tell if the Hokkaido Shimbun correspondent agreed with me when I said that top Soviet diplomats were capable of non-stereotyped decisions. The record of the past two years is ample evidence of Moscow's desire to find a realistic way of untying this tight knot.

But where is the partner prepared to share the responsibility for bold decisions? Over the past two decades, Japanese Prime Ministers have succeeded one another with amazing frequency. Although experienced and worldly-wise statesmen, they, to my mind, have been unable to tackle this outstanding issue for want of resolution and sufficient political support. They were not prepared to take any risks. It was much easier to pile up reproaches and demands. In my opinion, only two statesmen - Kakuei Tanaka and Yasuhiro Nakasone - had personal qualities and influence to apply themselves to Soviet-Japanese relations. The first of these wanted to do so but couldn't - he had to step down after only a short time in office. A row that had its origins in U.S. Congress cost him his political career. As for Nakasone, he chose to devote all his energies to strengthening his position in the Western camp.

Mikhail Gorbachev's proposed visit to Japan could have offered new hope. It would have been the first visit by a General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to Japan and it might well have got the stalled locomotive of Soviet-Japanese relations going. Although a capable and skilful politician, Nakasone missed the chance and identified himself with the Toshiba affair instead. Such is the legacy Nakasone's successor is left with.

Those who want better relations with Japan genuinely hope that the new Prime Minister, aware of his duty to his own people and our interdependent world, will not miss his chance.

LEONID MLECHIN

One hears more and more often that scientific developments and indeed, all scientific progress should be rooted in ethics and morality. But why should restrictions be placed on progress? That sounds absurd to any engineer, even the most ordinary. It is, I believe, more often than not in your country that the voices of the "moralists" are heard. Yet do you really need any self-imposed constraints at a time when the Soviet Union is aspiring to put on a technological spurt?

GIOVANNI PERINO
Rome, Italy

Askold Silin, D. Sc. (Technology), replies

Beyond good and evil?

Are science and technology above ethics, that is, beyond good and evil? The vast majority of scientists and engineers are still deeply convinced that their domain is ethically neutral. For goodness' sake, they quip ironically, is there any morality in an electron interacting with a proton or a connecting rod engaging a crankshaft?...

All this sancta simplicitas, in the meantime, gives rise to a dangerous misconception. Suffice it to remember that science and technology are not an end in themselves, dictating their own laws to civilization. They are both no more than a means for man to reveal his nature in his relations with the surrounding world. Consequently, theory and practice are humanized through and through, that is, they carry humane, moral principles by virtue of their own mission. The famous French humanist philosopher Michael de Montaigne put it aptly four centuries ago when he said that to anyone who had not yet learned the science of good any other science could do nothing but harm.

Unprecedentedly powerful and skilful machines have nowadays moved proudly into the foreground, forcing man the creator to step back modestly into the shadows. Painting a cheerless picture of the decline of technological civilization, the famous German sociologist and philosopher Oswald Spengler wrote half a century ago: "...The potentate of the world has become a slave to the machine. Without being aware of it, he and we are being drawn into its mechanism. The breakneck race will run the conqueror of the world into the ground...."

There were and still are ample grounds for so gloomy a prophesy: it is enough, for example, to look at the modern military arsenals meant for wholesale murder.

There is a painfully palpable gap between the zooming standard of technology, which is now just as capable of destroying its trusting creator a thousand times over as of making him happy, and the obviously lagging ethical standard of our thinking. While zealously transforming nature, people have been far from remaking themselves with equal enthusiasm and efficiency and have not taken timely action to strengthen and renew their moral platform.

The gap is now clearly manifest in the paradoxical combination of technological zeal with unusually widespread flabbiness in social thinking, the loss of public-spirited activity on a mass scale as a voluntary gift to professional politicians, and spiritual isolation and emptiness.

The unnatural gap between practice and ethics is perhaps most strikingly evident, however, in the unconcealed and widespread desire to avoid moral and indeed any responsibility, adeptly passing the buck to whoever and whatever possible - from the upper echelons of leadership to "intelligent machines," which are indeed outstanding achievements of human genius. A sinister apotheosis of this erosion of responsibility has come with the enormous electronic battlefield control systems which are in effect being called upon to decide the destiny of mankind. They are vested with this right on the truly fatal grounds that they respond far more quickly and are much more logical than humans.

It is my profound conviction that this massive resignation and ethical capitulation are the basis of nutrient medium for such monsters as the N-bomb, bacteriological weapons and the "ozone hole" in the atmosphere.

Amazingly, all these anti-humane and immoral "achievements" of the scientific and technological revolution have often found refuge in the saving cry by Chekhovian philistines: "I am not to blame, but everyone else is!" Among the many reasons for this pattern of behavior, the principal one is perhaps the customary and natural division of labour in its ultimate phase, where virtually every creator or operator is decisively and irrevocably separated from the final result of his work and hence from direct responsibility for its outcome.

As a result, scientific and technological progress, far from elevating mankind to a higher stage of humanism, is, on the contrary, reducing people to being mere addenda to the omnipotent machinery developed by them. In this way the infinite power of reason, deprived of self-control, is turning against reason itself. In our divided world the scientist must, of course, see in his mind's eye the ultimate purpose of each of his developments, and realize whether it will be to the detriment or the benefit of man and society. The awareness of this final result of his work should serve as the gauge for its morality.

Astonishingly, willingness to wash one's hands under any pretext has caught on just when the personal accountability of everyone at every level in the social hierarchy, far from declining, has, on the contrary, been increasing both in financial and moral terms.

Attempts to compromise this truth with incantations about all-powerful automatic

DESIGNED AND FULLY EQUIPPED FOR LEISURE OF PASSENGERS AND COMFORT OF THE CREW

m/s "Moskovski"—for short tourist cruises on rivers and lakes.

Steering and engine controls in the pilot house.

The hull, reinforced for ice protection, and heated salons back up seven to eight months of yearly operation in moderate climates.

Complete with systems precluding the discharge of dirty water from the decks.

Length, molded, m	36.13
Beam, molded, m	6.86
Deadweight, t	18.8
Design waterline draft, m	1.4
Passengers	179
Power plant, hp	300
Crew	2
Range (fully fuelled), hrs, no less than	40

Supplier: V O SUDOIMPORT

10, Uspensky Per.
103006 Moscow
Tel: 299-02-14
299-58-77
251-05-05
Telex: 411272 SUDO SU
411387 SUDO SU
411443 SUDO SU

Fully guaranteed: the maximum degree of environment protection

The tanker of the "15966" type carries simultaneously four kinds of petroleum products and crude oil.

The double sides of the tanker's hull and its cargo-handling system completely preclude any sea pollution.

The vessel is single-screw, single-deck, with a longitudinal bulkhead in the tank part.

The loading/unloading of crude oil and petroleum products is fully enclosed, into/from the four groups of tanks at one and the same time.

Length, overall, m	178.96
Beam, mid-vessel, m	25.30
Depth moulded, m	15.00
Cargo tanks volume, m^3	30,550
Deadweight, t	28,500
Engine, kw	8,750

Sudo®

Supplier: V/O SUDOIMPORT
10, Uspenski Per.
Moscow 103006
Tel. 299-02-14
299-58-77
251-05-05
Telex 411272 SUDO SU
411387 SUDO SU

SOVTRANSAVTO

guarantees a prompt and efficient carriage by road of foreign-trade, transit, exhibition and diplomatic cargoes, and personal luggage.

SOVTRANSAVTO offers

- tarpaulin-tent and all-metal semi-trailers with load capacities of up to 24 tons and body volumes up to 80 cubic metres
- refrigerator trucks with load capacities of up to 23 tons and body volumes up to 60 cubic metres, thermostatically controlled to temperatures from —25°C to +15°C
- semi-trailers on pneumatic suspension
- low-frame semi-trailers with capacities of up to 60 tons for bulky cargoes.

SovTransAvto

V/O PRODINTORG exports and imports sugar, vegetables, oils, meat, canned meat, frozen poultry, dairy products, endocrine glands and ferments, by-products, wild game meat, forest game and other products of animal origin; coffee, cocoa, cocoa products, tea, spices, nuts, starch, confectioneries and paste, macaroni products, table salt, agar-agar, items of Tibetan medicine, liquorice root.

V/O PRODINTORG conducts its export/import operations through its incorporated specialized firms:

MIASO firm — phone 244-36-20
meat and canned meat, frozen poultry, sausage, endocrine glands and ferments, by-products, wild game meat, forest game, eggs, egg powder, gelatin, etc.

SAKHAR firm — phone 244-10-79
cane and beet sugar, including white crystal sugar (bulk and bagged), lump sugar, fructose (in various packing), molasses, etc.

MASLO firm — phone 244-22-59
vegetable oils (sunflower seed, soya bean, olive, coconut, linseed, castor, tung, oiticica, rape seed, cottonseed, etc.), various types of hydrogenated fats, inedible fats, palm stearin, margarine, confectionery fat, etc.

MOLOKO firm — phone 244-35-57
dairy preserves, cheese, butter, full-cream and skimmed milk powder, condensed milk, sheep's milk cheese, edible beef and pork fats, cream powder, sour lactic ferments for cheese production, pepsin, lactose (milk-sugar), items of Tibetan medicine, agar-agar, liquorice root, etc.

KAKAO firm — phone 244-12-48
coffee, cocoa, cocoa products, tea, spices, nuts, almonds, starch, confectioneries, paste, macaroni products, table salt, etc.

PRODINTORG

V/O PRODINTORG
32/34, Smolenskaya-Sennaya Pl.
Moscow 121200
Cables: PRODINTORG MOSCOW
Telex: 411206 PIT SU
Phone: 244-26-29

l electronic gadgetry with their
fast action and ingenious
afeguards are rendered mea-
t only by the ominous engi-
asters that have hit the world
also by gross ecological
ons, for which we shall have to
ong time to come.
ealizing the need for rapid
ve are not going to throw the
open to technologically effec-
ns that are immoral in relation
d earthlings.
as created our reason in such
o make sure that the strong
ire to get to know the
world and the enormous
with this knowledge are held in
equally natural and powerful
conscience as expressed in
morals. This is why the tough,
lly humane **self-restrictions**
practice in one way or another
legitimate and increasingly
nd popular now, on the
f the third millennium.
r that efforts to cope with the
gripping mankind should rely
thics common to all earthlings.
that moral change or, if you
ntenment in people's minds
underpinned by universally
al principles which are un-
nd by which everyone can

y in achieving our overriding
erving a stable civilization, we
gether ever more frequently
ately, increasingly aware not
indissoluble unity with this
also of its painful vulnerability.
conditions the myth that
l technology are above mora-
certainly be discarded and
Charles Snow put it rightly
d that the cup of good and evil
e hands of scientists. We
this in the following way: not
blic, but also the professional
f anyone concerned with
l technology should organi-
e ethical principles. In other
socio-economic goals of
search and its humane content
st as important, indispensable
as the ways of achieving these

this, our pride and joy -
- will be looking for live
even greater prowess.
of us are witnessing
of global ethics in the
eliberate self-restrictions on
nd this is not a blow at
his is Progress proper.

"I want to unburden myself"

You will probably be surprised by this strange letter, all the more so when you learn who it is from. But I have made up my mind to unburden myself, just as people used to confess their sins to a clergymen. I am nearing the end of my life now, so I have no one and nothing to fear. Let's have a heart-to-heart talk.

In 1957 I left Kazakhstan (the city of Karaganda, to be exact) for Poland, and then proceeded to Israel, my historic homeland, so to say. Before that, I had travelled far and wide in the Soviet Union. And, what is most important, I had fought my way from Stalingrad to "invincible" Germany - a hard and dangerous experience, but the most glorious one of my life. I can only regret that my contribution to the Great Victory over fascism was so small.

The whole of Europe was covered with the graves of the sons and daughters of the Soviet people who had saved mankind, including my own people doomed by the nazis to total elimination, from the brown plague.

To quote the Talmud, "He who saves one soul saves the whole world." It was the Soviet Union that saved the whole world from fascism. Unfortunately, there are people who have forgotten this - or are trying to forget it. Worse still, they are busy falsifying history, especially the progress and outcome of World War II. This is happening in Israel as elsewhere.

It is true that Israel cannot survive without American aid, but no one can make us hate our saviours. Nevertheless, it is Israel that preaches anti-Sovietism by all manner of means. The radio, television and newspapers sound off about human rights, about Jews being oppressed in the U.S.S.R. and prevented from leaving for their "promised land."

Why all these crocodile tears, one may ask. Look how many Jews go to colleges, specialized secondary schools and other educational institutions in the U.S.S.R. And look at the kind of people who emigrate from the Soviet Union. They are mostly doctors, engineers, scientists, artists, actors - in short, men and women of the most prestigious professions. Do all of them go to their historic homeland? Not at all. They aren't even particularly keen to get there. A large proportion of them leave Vienna directly for the Western world of their dreams. And this after vociferous protests that their only wish is to be reunited with their families. Let's face it: they care little for their holy land, and are not patriots at all.

When they leave the U.S.S.R., they know for certain that their Soviet diplomas will secure them lucrative jobs. Take us, for instance. We come from a village, and are just plain ordinary people. There have never been any scientists in our family. Soviet power not only saved my parents and two brothers from the death camps, but gave us all a higher education. My brother's wife returned from a death camp as a girl of 12, all alone, as her parents had perished. Today she is a doctor. What would have become of this girl in the "free world," I wonder. She would have certainly ended up as a prostitute or a maid servant.

I have seen many immigrants from the Soviet Union over the past thirty years, and I therefore know at first hand how many of them have been disillusioned about the much-vaunted freedoms in Israel and America.. I have come to the conclusion that Israel is the most dangerous place for Jews to settle. I want the Israeli authorities to leave my brother - who lives in Kishinev, in the U.S.S.R. - alone. For the past thirty years he wouldn't hear of Israel - or of me, for that matter.

Why don't they let him live in peace? I have already experienced the blessings of this "paradise," and I don't want him to share my fate. It is among Jews, in the all-Jewish state, that I have drunk to the dregs the cup of discrimination. All these years I've been working as a coupler, a hard and unskilled job, without any chance of having anything better to do, and all because of my political views, although I do not belong to any party.

An ordinary workingman who has retired at the age of 66, in accordance with local laws, I'd like to rouse to reality those who are as gullible as I once was. The thousands who long to come here are probably making a mistake. I would very much like to go back to the U.S.S.R. if I only had a pension there to see me through the little life that remains to me. I don't know if I will ever succeed in visiting my real homeland and staying for at least a week with my brother, whom I haven't seen for so long. My parents died after I left; we are no longer young ourselves and could well pass away without ever setting eyes on each other again.

S.B.Bark

Israel

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

"Steel Flowers," a contribution from Vietnamese reader Nguyen Thuc.

NEXT STEP ON THE BRIDGE

CLINTON C. GARDNER,
President, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace

Four years ago when I joined with American and Soviet friends to found the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace project, only a wild optimist could have imagined the progress that citizen diplomacy had made by 1987. Then there were a handful of organizations sponsoring Soviet-American exchange visits. Now there are hundreds. Then Americans who invited Soviets into their homes had to defend their loyalty; now the Reagan administration announces that citizen exchanges are a pillar of its Soviet policy.

The first part of 1987 has seen a whirlwind of activity on this front. The International Forum /for a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind - **Ed.**/ in Moscow in February was only the most visible event, bringing hundreds of American and Soviet citizens into dialogue with each other. Many of us, like myself, took advantage of our visit to see films like "Repentance" and otherwise participate in the experience of glasnost. I would like here to offer an American's response to what is going on in the Soviet Union today, or more particularly to suggest how we can interact with you. This is a time of change and ferment not only for you but for us and for our relationship. I think this is a unique time to consider **joint** Soviet-American efforts to end our confrontation and move towards cooperation.

Before I proceed with that theme, I would like to pause for an introduction.

In 1983 New Times printed a report by Galina Sidorova describing the first Soviet-American exchange project conducted by Bridges for Peace. Two years ago Galina provided a similar article on our fifth exchange. Last summer, your magazine carried an article by Alexander Pumpyansky, on the latest experience in this field. As President of this organization, I hardly feel the need for extensive introduction.

Nevertheless, a few words about my personal background will provide some setting for what I want to say. My first experience of joint work with Soviet citizens occurred during the second world war. After my artillery unit crossed the Rhine, I volunteered to work in military government. Our team was asked to prepare itself to administer the Buchenwald Concentration Camp at Weimar upon its liberation. I was one of four officers on the team and we had only six enlisted men; it didn't seem enough to tackle the job before us. Fortunately, among the thousands of displaced persons we took care of on the way to Weimar, we came across a mathematics teacher from Leningrad and a nurse from Moscow who were glad to become informal members of our team. The day after we liberated Buchenwald I found myself starting to speak Russian to Colonel Smirnov and the several thousand Soviet soldiers who had been among the prisoners there.

The war experience, and particularly Buchenwald, where we first learned of Auschwitz and the other full-scale extermination camps, became the "moment of truth" in my life. Ever since, I have done whatever I could to prevent a third world war, which of course would be a global Auschwitz.

Returning to college after the war, I decided on a career in Soviet-American relations and did graduate work on Russian history at the University of Paris. But the anti-Sovietism of the McCarthy era seemed to dim the prospects in this field for anyone who did not see our task as rolling back the "red tide." Instead, I became a businessman and remained one until 1981 when the task of starting the Bridges for Peace project began to take all my time.

Returning now to my theme of how Americans and Soviets can interact today, I would like to quote America's leading "Sovietologist" George Kennan, who has written: "For all their historical and ideological differences these two peoples - the Russians and the Americans - complement each other; they need each other; they can enrich each other; together, granted the requisite insight and restraint, they can do more than any other two powers to assure world peace."

A transnational peace institute

How can we adequately express what Kennan means by our "need" for each other? I tried to answer that question in a book I completed in 1981 as we were planning the Bridges for Peace project. The book was entitled "Letters to the Third Millennium: an Experiment in East-West Communication." In the last chapter, "A Letter to Moscow," I proposed that American and Soviet citizens should "expand exponentially the efforts we make at understanding each other." As one means of doing this, I suggested that "peace research be undertaken as a **joint** effort by Soviet, American and other social scientists." What I had in mind was a transnational peace institute in which both academic specialists and citizen leaders would participate. The academics would include social scientists, peace researchers, specialists on conflict resolution, and scholars in the field of international relations. The citizen leaders would include politicians, representatives of business and labour, leaders in public organizations, writers, etc. Obviously, we need each other for such joint efforts. And we complement each other because we each bring different and necessary experience to bear upon the problem of securing a lasting peace.

While a **transnational** peace institute might sound utopian, there are at least two existing organizations which are suggestive models. One is the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council. With offices in Moscow and New York, it is administered jointly by directors from the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. The other is the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Vienna. Again, American and Soviet scientific organizations cooperate, along with groups from other nations, to address issues of common concern, such as energy, hazardous waste, acid rain and world food trade. The Council and the Institute have had their problems, as détente has waxed and waned, but they both show that transnational efforts led by Soviets and Americans are not just the stuff of dreams.

A centre for transnational dialogue

Indeed, that dream of a transnational peace institute which I sketched in my 1981 book may be moving towards 1987 reality. During his speech closing the International Forum in February General Secretary Gorbachev supported one of the ideas that arose in our discussions: the formation of an international foundation for "open discussion of the prevention of nuclear war, and research on the burning international issues." Shortly after the forum closed I had lunch with several Moscow friends. They had invited to join us a gentleman who had just been charged with exploring how to bring the proposed foundation into existence. Our luncheon conversation turned into a "brainstorming" session on what to name the foundation. how to give it a suitable

operational base, and what sort of peace research and projects it should support.

As to name, I proposed calling it "The Twenty-First Century Foundation - a Transnational Organization for Global Cooperation and Peace in the Third Millennium." We agreed that, when fully developed, the foundation should not be based in one country but have many "bases" around the globe. In the Soviet Union a suitable base might be created by building a Center for Transnational Dialogue in the suburbs of Moscow. Such a conference center would combine meeting halls with hotel accommodations, restaurants, etc. One of our brightest "brainstorming" ideas was that the hotel portion of this center might be built in the log-cabin style of an old Russian village - like the log-cabin hotel in Suzdal. We speculated about how this potentially large center might be financed as a joint venture of developers in the U.S.S.R., U.S. and other countries.

As to the projects our Twenty-First Century Foundation might support, we agreed that two of the most basic would be:

1. A vastly expanded programme of East-West dialogue, through exchange visits of citizen leaders in many fields. The proposed Dialogue Center would provide a base for organizing such a programme.

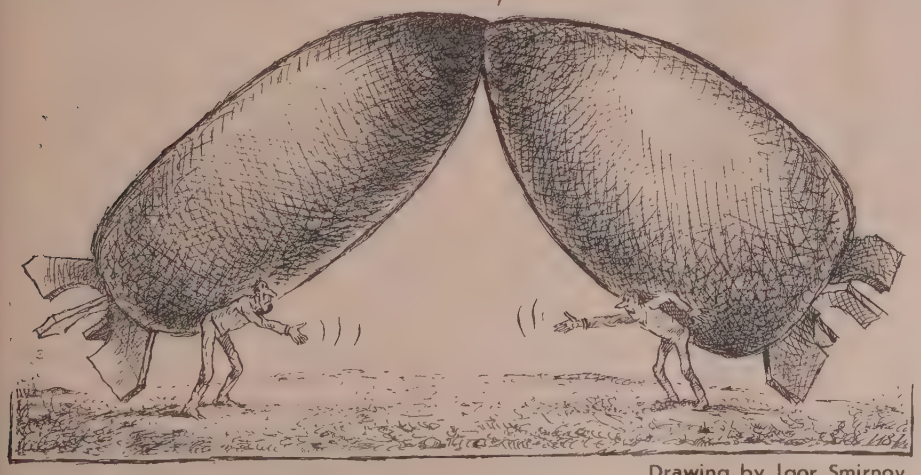
2. Peace research that would be undertaken jointly by U.S., U.S.S.R. and other social scientists. A focus for such work should be a transnational peace institute where the scientists could meet regularly. Again, such an institute might be based at the Dialogue Center. That would permit significant interaction and exchange of information between the scientists and the citizen leaders.

Technologies of peace

In the course of our luncheon conversation, one new acquaintance, a geophysicist from Novosibirsk, asked me to tell him more about how I had envisioned peace research in my book, "Letters to the Third Millennium." I replied that my main theme was how the social sciences needed to find a new mode of thinking, indeed a new method, which would enable them to make sustained progress over the next century as the natural sciences have done over the last century. Somehow we need to discover a "science of peace" which would nurture "technologies of peace" before we are overcome by the technologies of war. My new friend expressed such interest in these ideas that I promised to send him a summary of the book.

Now, as I'm writing this article after my return from Moscow, I still haven't finished that "homework" for my Siberian friend. I'd like to provide here at least a hint of what I mean by "technologies of peace." My own thinking in this field was based on the work of a social scientist with whom I had studied at Dartmouth College, Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. I had become his collaborator on a number of projects. One of these was a work-service camp, named Camp William James in honour of the American philosopher whose essay "The Moral Equivalent of War" provided our inspiration. We hoped that our camp, founded in 1940, would become a model for similar service camps all over the world in which young people, coming from different nations, would work together on social and environmental projects. As they did so, they would come to appreciate their different traditions, inherited from the past. At the same time they would discover together common goals for a shared future. Camp William James is often cited as an inspiration for President Kennedy's Peace Corps initiative, although the latter has never become transnational. Clearly, our camp and the Peace Corps were at least experiments towards discovering "technologies of peace."

Of course our Bridges for Peace project is another experiment aimed at discovering these technologies. It employs one of the principles we emphasized at Camp William James: only people who have worked together can really speak to each other. Creative dialogue can occur only when a certain amount of trust has been built by getting to know one another personally. By establishing ongoing exchanges with the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, and the Russian Orthodox Church, we have built a sort of "U.S.-U.S.S.R. peace corps." That corps functions as a network which includes many more Soviet organizations as well as over fifty American educational, peace and religious groups. What we have learned, as we had hoped, is that candid and constructive dialogue will emerge when both sides have had the experience of working together. That kind of dialogue is worth sharing with the wider public in each society - and has been, through press, radio and television.



Drawing by Igor Smirnov

A science of peace

Now how might a science of peace differ from what we understand as "science" today? When Americans and Soviets meet in the dialogues sponsored by Bridges for Peace, we find the most poignant questions relate to "what do we have in common?" Do we have any sense of shared traditions, shared history and shared goals? Can we see any way to reconcile or correlate our differing ideologies? Clearly, such **social** questions do not yeild answers when they are discussed in the cold language of objective statements, the method of natural science. That method is essentially the language of mathematics and measurement; it deals effectively only with the world of space. But the social sciences, down to our day, still rely on that objective approach.

To deal with the world of human experience, the world of time, society and history, I propose in my book that we create a higher social science. It would concentrate on what we all agree is necessary for society, namely peace. Thus, we would accept a postulate of meaningful purpose in social science, which natural science rejects for itself. Accepting this postulate, we will discover that there are four threats to peace.

Social peace is threatened not only by war (a breakdown on the outer front of society), but also by anarchy (a breakdown inside society), decadence (loss of faith in the future) and revolution (loss of respect for the past). A higher social science would see the creation of peace on these four "fronts" of life as its necessary purpose. It would then no longer ape the **objective** method of natural science, which deals only with one front of our experience, the world outside us. It would also deal with our inner world and our historical relation to past and future time. Such a new science could serve the creation of peace in the next millennium as natural science has served the conquest of space in the millennium now coming to a close.

Ideological détente

Let me now focus more closely on a new mode of thinking which might inform that

science of peace. A close examination of society reveals that all significant human experience starts with imperatives. We are the animal that lives towards an envisioned future, and it is imperative speech which calls us towards that future. It commands and summons us. The language of revolution, of course, is the outstanding example of imperative speech.

Since the summons of an imperative begins all of our experiences, perhaps the key to understanding and dealing with any social phenomenon is to understand the imperative which caused it to occur. "Imperative analysis," I suggest, may be a key method for our new science. An example will help clarify what I mean. Let us consider that poignant question of whether we can reconcile or correlate the differing ideologies of East and West. Can we imagine moving towards "ideological détente?" That would appear, I submit, a highly desirable accompaniment to military and political détente.

First, it is worth noting that some of our best conventional social scientists insist that ideological détente is impossible. For example, Columbia professor Seweryn Bialer, a highly respected "Sovietologist," has recently been announced as adviser to a new American television series entitled "Global Rivals." The theme of the programme, to quote its announcement, "is that the two traditional methods of ending national rivalries - reconciliation or war - are impossible solutions to the U.S.-Soviet rivalry. Reconciliation is impossible because the two countries' ideologies and interests are utterly incompatible; war has been rendered impractical by the advent of nuclear weapons. The series will explore the only remaining alternative - management of the relationship in a state of perpetual rivalry."

The science of peace I am discussing here should, at the very least, question whether "perpetual rivalry" is, in fact, our only alternative. What might my proposed method of "imperative analysis" tell us about "incompatible ideologies?" In my book I devote a whole chapter to this question, so my analysis here must be quite summary.

If we analyze the imperatives of all the great Western revolutions, then it becomes clear that the Russian Revolution was an integral, indeed necessary, part of Western history. It completed a forward movement in time, a response to imperatives, which was begun by the German Reformation and then continued by the British Parliamentary Revolution and the French Revolution. All four of these great movements can be seen as a whole, each building on the one before it and each establishing a vital freedom which the earlier revolutions had neglected: 1. Freedom of conscience in the Reformation (which had been a response to the "papal revolution" of the preceding centuries). 2. Political freedom in the Parliamentary Revolution. 3. Freedom of individual enterprise in the French Revolution. 4. Freedom from economic exploitation in the Russian Revolution. Certainly Marxism was not seen by Lenin as making a break with previous revolutionary history but as attempting to carry forward those earlier achievements.

In the light of their imperatives, the four great Western revolutions reveal interacting rather than competing ideologies. In retrospect, we can see that social and political health depend on having a dynamic relationship between all four freedoms, each of which relates to a vital "front" of our lives. Our analysis shows that the picture is much more interesting than simply a conflict between right and left, a competition between two economic ideologies, capitalism and communism. It suggests that the social task of the 21st century is to inherit and balance the gifts of all four great revolutions which dominated the second half of the millennium now ending.

That example of how "imperative analysis" might work is applied to one of the most central questions that a science of peace might address. I have tried to show one approach towards establishing a new social method. The purpose of undertaking concerted peace research at this time, of course, would be to consider many other approaches and determine what was most fruitful.

"Repentance"

I would like to close with a reflection on how the film "Repentance" deals insightfully with many of the themes I have touched on here. Technology appears as a new God when one sees a power station built to fill the cathedral. The dictator Varlam seems to represent not only the "cult of personality" but the danger of unexamined and simplistic ideology. Varlam's son Abel suggests our ability to repent for past mistakes and seek new imperatives when he hurls his father's body from the cliff. The hero Sandro reminds us, in terms of his character and his pictures which represent the whole artistic tradition, of our need to inherit the best from all of human history.

The film ends on that same note, when the old lady asks Cathy whether the street she is on leads to the temple. No, Cathy replies, that is the street named after Varlam; it does not lead to the temple. The old lady then says, "who needs a street which does not lead to the temple?" and she sets off to take the way which does. It is not clear what is in the temple. It is certainly not just the old church and the old-time religion. One senses that it is a place where Sandro's pictures and his aspirations will be found. I have little doubt that the showing of "Repentance" in the U.S. will be an important step on the bridge which our two societies are building towards each other. ■

Armed police have recently been increasingly in evidence in the streets of Colombo. All the law and order forces in the capital have been placed on the alert, a measure prompted by the growing frequency of acts of terrorism there. A powerful explosion in the port wrecked the headquarters of a trade union committee controlled by the ruling United National Party. The headquarters of some left-wing parties, including the Communist Partry of Sri Lanka, have also been attacked.

Refugees have been streaming to the south and southwestern parts of the island, including the capital, from the eastern and northern regions, where extremists, for the most part from the Tigers of Tamil Eelam, a paramilitary organization, resumed their attacks on the Sinhalese population at the end of September. Their targets included women, children and old people. The authorities are trying to alleviate the plight of the refugees but the problem is going from bad to worse.

It has now become clear that the extremists surrendered few arms in violation of the Indian-Lankan agreement of July 29 on the settlement of the ethnic conflict. In mid-September, clashes occurred between various Tamil groups vying with each other for influence in the Northern and Eastern provinces. These escalated into attacks on the Sinhalese people, Sri Lankan army posts, and even on the Indian peace-keeping forces near the eastern port cities of Trincomalee and Batticaloa and on the northern Jaffna Peninsula. The "tigers" perpetrated wanton massacre. The suicide of twelve of the seventeen "tigers" seized by the Lankan Marines triggered off a new wave of Tamil violence. According to the organization's "code of conduct," a "tiger" cannot surrender. If captured, he must die. Sri Lankan President Junius Jayawardene who had to cancel his trip to the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver, Canada, has outlawed the "tigers" until such a time as they accept the peace agreement, and described their leader, Prabhakaran, as a "convicted murderer." The Indian peace-keeping forces have been ordered to act vigorously to disarm the "tigers" and overcome their resistance. By mid-October the Indian contingent had reached 15,000, according to official data.

The Indian units first seized several "Tamil Tigers" strongholds in the east before launching a massive offensive on the extremists' stronghold on the Jaffna Peninsula on October 10. The "tigers" put

When extremes meet

up a fierce resistance, using mortars and grenade throwers. Both sides suffered serious losses. It was only after a week of heavy fighting that the Indian troops managed to enter Jaffna. As I write this, street fighting is still going on in the centre of the city.

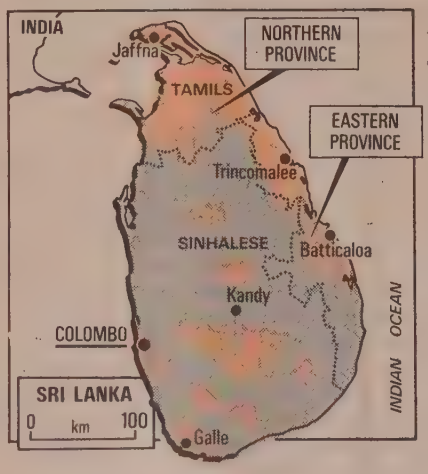
Judging from official statements, the governments of Sri Lanka and India are committed to implementing an agreement designed to give autonomy to the Tamils on the island and thus put an end to the ethnic conflict.

The Lankan authorities scrupulously complied with their obligations: their troops were confined to barracks and the detained Tamil fighters were released. The Sri Lankan President announced the creation of a united provisional administrative council to run the Northern and Eastern provinces (pending a referendum), in which the "tigers" were assigned the majority of seats.

Everything seemed to be going according to plan, but the extremists had intended to disrupt the accord all along, as their surrender of weapons had been purely symbolic. According to the news agency Lankapuvath the "tigers'" leadership had ordered its men to buy polyethelyne and rifle oil to mothball their weapons until they were needed again. The need arose even before any weapons could be hidden.

The Indian-Lankan agreement highlighted the nature of the "tigers" as a paramilitary terrorist organization with no concrete programme of its own. When offered an opportunity to pursue their "struggle for Tamil rights" by political means, they were clearly at a loss. It is said that the organization's chief "ideologist," Balasingam, never parts with a notebook containing quotations from various philosophers to suit every situation. The fact that the "tigers" have been juggling with Marxist phraseology has for many years been used by the Western press to suggest that the separatists wanted to create a "Marxist state" in the northeast of the island. The "tigers'" platform is based on the idea of a Tamil national state in which all Tamils will live happily.

History knows of many models of "problem-free societies," from Campanella's romantic City of the Sun to the abhorrent "ideal society" of Pol Pot. It is not for me to determine the place of the Tamil Eelam on this scale, but even in theoretical terms such a miniscule state would not be viable, especially in Sri



Lanka where close economic links between different parts of the island have long existed. The "tigers'" leaders must be aware of this. Therefore they can only fight for power, ignoring the true interests of their national community. This became clear to everyone when they used civilians, women and children for the most part, as human shields while fighting in Jaffna.

There is some opposition to the peace agreement even in the south. It comes from Sinhalese chauvinists. The latest wave of terrorism there is linked with the outlawed extremist organization, the People's Liberation Front.

The south of Sri Lanka has always been considered a tourist paradise. Fine ocean beaches lined with posh hotels, luxuriant tropical vegetation and beautiful temples have attracted travellers and holiday-makers. During my recent trip along the southern coast I saw a depressing picture. The beaches are deserted, the hotels are losing their guests and cutting their staffs who are swelling the ranks of unemployed. Why so? Foreigners are afraid of terrorists.

Set up in the 1960s, the PLF staged a rebellion against the United Front government formed by left-wing parties, including the Communist Party. That was in 1971. PLF activists arrested and sentenced to imprisonment were released in 1978 by the present United National Party government. The organization thrived on the discontent among unemployed Sinhalese young people. The Tamils have always been one of the main targets of its attacks. It has also called for a struggle against "Indian expansionism."

Not surprisingly, the Sinhalese chauvinists rose in arms against the Indian-Lankan agreement. The PLF fighters have attacked representatives of the ruling party and staged explosions in Parliament and in the houses of government leaders.

Paradoxically, the militant "Tamil Tigers" and the equally militant Sinhalese chauvinists of the PLF have found themselves in the same boat. Extremes have met. What do they have in common? Adventurism and lust for power. Obviously, they would make an easy prey for the powerful overseas forces unhappy about the prospect of a peaceful Sri Lanka. Yet peace and tranquility is what the country needs after years of senseless bloodshed.

The agreement signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Junius Jayawardene on July 29 opened up broader vistas for the Tamil population and for Sri Lanka as a whole. It is enough to say that the billions of rupees the government spent containing terrorism could be used for economic rehabilitation and the creation of new jobs in the north and south of the island. All Lankan patriots, all those, that is, who are not blinded by chauvinism realize that the July agreement must be given a chance.

ALEXANDER VOLKOV

Colombo

Salvation lies in good will

Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church, Catholicos of All Armenians Vazgen I, interviewed by New Times

One of Soviet power's first legislative acts was to disestablish the church. What, in your opinion, was its effect on Church activity in Armenia? What difficulties did it cause?

From the viewpoint of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the separation of Church and state has caused no problems either for the clergy or for believers. There are two reasons for this. First, the Armenian Apostolic Church had been separate from the state since the 10th century, when Armenia ceased to exist as a state. Second, the October revolution and the subsequent developments resulted in the Armenians at last regaining their autonomy. In 1920 Soviet power came to stay in Armenia, delivering our people from genocide for good and thus bringing it salvation.

The Armenian Apostolic Church could not have failed to realize this. It was the moment of salvation for us. Catholicos Gevork V circulated a message to all the dioceses in which he welcomed the formation of Soviet Armenia.

What does the separation of Church and state mean in practical terms today?

We feel more independent in our internal affairs. After all, this provision not only ensures the state's independence from the Church but also makes the Church independent from the state in all matters pertaining to our specific functions.

This does not mean, of course, that we are out of touch with each other. Most of our flock are Soviet citizens, and Holy Echmiadzin, the centre of our Church, is located near the capital of Soviet Armenia. Over my thirty years as Catholicos I've had no occasion to reproach the Soviet authorities with anything. Religious people and atheists have respect for each other's convictions. We have developed a modus vivendi - a way of getting along together - with both believers and non-believers remaining loyal citizens of their common homeland.

Your Holiness, the Western media's treatment of the issue of religion in the U.S.S.R. is extremely contradictory. Some say the Church is persecuted and oppressed here, and others that the Soviet state all but finances certain Church activities for propaganda purposes.

The former was true only in the period of the personality cult, chiefly in the thirties. As for material support from the state, we do not receive any. Nor do we need it, as we have revenues of our own which make up our budget. Whenever we have to bear major expenses - in, say, reconstructing or restoring old churches, building a new museum in Holy Echmiadzin, or holding an international forum - we invite contributions from members of our flock residing in Armenia and abroad.

May I repeat, though, that Echmiadzin relies on the whole on its own sources of income, which even enables us to do what we deem to be our patriotic duty as citizens of the U.S.S.R. - to make regular contributions to the Peace Fund, the Culture Fund and the recently established Children's Fund.

We are always ready to extend a helping hand to those in need. The Armenian Apostolic Church of the U.S.S.R. made a donation of 150,000 rubles in humanitarian aid to the victims of the Chernobyl disaster. And after natural calamity struck Georgia, Holy Echmiadzin alone donated 100,000 to the relief fund. Another 40,000 rubles were raised by Armenian churches in Georgia from their parishioners. We think it our obligation as Christians and citizens of the Soviet Union to act in this way.

You have mentioned Echmiadzin's cooperation with the Culture Fund. We know from history that over the centuries Armenian monasteries and churches have been the custodians of the language and of national culture, and that they combined their purely religious functions with educational and scientific work...

The educational function once actively discharged by the Armenian Apostolic Church has now been taken over by the state, on the whole. This is only natural, I think. Today the Church is no longer capable of performing this mission comprehensively and well. The state is better equipped for it. As for us, we concentrate for the most part on religious, ideological and moral-ethical problems.

Catholicos of All Armenians Vazgen I, head of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

While in Echmiadzin recently on a visit, I saw a fine museum with unique relics of Armenian culture on display...

The new museum building houses an exhibition of over 3,000 works of Armenian art dating from the 7th-19th centuries. We continue to study our culture and the arts but mostly in the context of the history of the Armenian Apostolic Church. We publish books, our own Echmiadzin journal, and volumes of photographs.

You bear the title of Catholicos of All Armenians. What is the present state of relations between Echmiadzin and Armenian communities abroad?

There are about seven million Armenians across the world today, with slightly over three million in the Armenian S.S.R., about two million in other republics and regions of the Soviet Union, and over two million abroad.

We do not regard the Armenian diaspora, i.e., the Armenians living outside the U.S.S.R., as emigrants. Most of them are descendants of refugees from Western Armenia who fled from genocide, the last outburst of which had occurred in 1915. You have to understand their attitude. They have no home to come back to - Western Armenia is lost, with almost

no Armenians left there. But Eastern Armenia has been preserved with the help of the Russian people. The Catholicosate plays an important role in the establishment and maintenance of normal relations between Soviet Armenians and the diaspora. The latter is far from homogeneous, comprising people of different means and different political views. For the diaspora, keeping in touch with Holy Echmiadzin, with Soviet Armenia, is a way of preserving the sense of belonging to the Armenian nation.

Do you feel that your relations with your Soviet flock differ in any way from those with the Armenians of the diaspora?

We don't distinguish between our co-religionists.

What is the relationship between Echmiadzin and the Catholicosate of Cilicia?

For a number of historical reasons, the Armenian Apostolic Church came to have a decentralized structure. There is also the Cilician Catholicosate in Beirut plus the Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem and Istanbul (the Constantinople Patriarchate) which are subordinate to Holy Echmiadzin. Each has an internal constitution of its own. Canonically, however, Holy Echmiadzin is the centre of the Armenian Apostolic Church for all religious Armenians because it stands on our Armenian soil.

At the same time I must say that our relations with the Catholicosate of Cilicia are not always equally good. They often depend on changes in the world political situation, but never affect the fundamental dogmas of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

We have already touched upon certain aspects of the so-called "Armenian question," which is an object of wild speculations....

Its history goes back many centuries to periods when the state of Greater Armenia was being torn asunder by conquerors, beginning with Byzantians and ending with Turks, and finally ceased to exist. As a result, Armenians fled to other countries and formed religio-ethnic communities there.

It was not until the middle of the last century, however, that the problem assumed its present scale. Inspired by the successes achieved by Bulgarians, Greeks and Romanians in the fight against Turkish oppression, Armenians also made a strong bid for sovereign state of their own. In response, the Turkish authorities came down on the Armenians, annihilating the population of whole villages and settlements, sparing neither women nor children.

It is a historical fact that the only support the Armenians received then came from the Russian people.

In 1915, Turkey decided to put an end to our liberation movement by physically destroying almost all the Armenians in Western Armenia. The mass genocide was survived only by those who lived in Istanbul (the Turks did not dare to massacre them there) and those rescued by Russian troops.

Destructive trends are still fairly strongly pronounced in politics, but they have no future, the future is with architects of peace.

All the Armenians in the U.S.S.R. and abroad remember the victims of this mass genocide and demand that it be internationally condemned along with the genocide committed by the nazis during World War II.

We live in a troubled world, with tensions flaring up in different parts. You are noted for your vigorous work in the cause of peace. What is your political credo?

I believe that the main and probably the only way to salvation lies in creating an atmosphere of good will and confidence worldwide. A policy of peaceful co-existence between various countries and nations of different races and religions can contribute to that. Mutual trust and cooperation between countries with different ideologies will be favourable to universal peace. People must realize that unless they learn to live in peace, they will be threatened with omnicide - the destruction of all life on earth. I consider this kind of reasoning essential to overcoming national egoism, religious extremism and social oppression, i.e., the poisonous roots which still contaminate human life and generate wars.

Destructive trends are still fairly strongly pronounced in politics, but they have no future. The future is with architects of peace, a just and eternal peace. Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of our country, is unquestionably one of them. A man sincerely committed to the idea of peace, he expresses a cherished dream of all honest people - the dream of universal security on earth, a nuclear-free future. Mikhail Gorbachev is a clear-headed man of strong will, persistent in pursuing his humane objectives.

A philosopher by education, you were once a writer and teacher. What was it that compelled you, Your Holiness, to take holy orders?

I was ordained in 1943, during World War II. Romania, where I was born and raised, fought on the side of fascist Germany against the Soviet Union and, consequently, against Soviet Armenia. Naturally, the Armenians living in Romania could not support its government in the war against their brethren. Therefore, the Romanian authorities considered our community unreliable and even dangerous. We were subject to eviction from cities to a special ghetto. However, Bishop Usic managed to have the execution of the eviction order postponed. In 1942 the bishop died. A new head of the diocese had to be elected. In Armenian religious communities this is an elective office, with the candidatures endorsed and blessed by the Catholicos. The head of the diocese had to be Romanian-born and to know the Romanian language so as to uphold the interests of the community. The choice fell on me, to my own surprise.

Although I had a certain theological background and had taught in Armenian schools, I had not considered embarking upon an ecclesiastical career. I declined the offer at first. Only 35 at the time, I thought the burden too heavy to shoulder. But they managed to persuade me.

What do you go in for when you can take time off from your multifarious duties? What are your hobbies?

I enjoy reading Armenian and world classics, and modern Soviet and foreign authors. I'm also fond of music, my favourite composer being Mozart, with his impeccable sense of harmony. I collect recordings of his pieces performed by the best Soviet and foreign musicians.

You are going to the U.S. and Canada shortly, and will meet Armenian religious and public figures residing there. What message will you convey to them?

A message of faith and peace.

Interviewer EVGENY ANDRIANOV

ON THE ROMANIAN BANK

FROM THE BLACK SEA TO THE ALPS

From our special correspondent BORIS KOZLOV

Seagulls dozed on the bank as a dry cargo ship under the Soviet flag slowly entered the estuary.

An ocean-going vessel on the Danube is in no way out of the ordinary as the Danube is navigable for both sea-going ships and rivercraft.

At a distance of 200 kilometres upstream is Braila, the last port on the Danube that can be reached by sea-going vessels.

The city is 600 years old. Its distant beginnings are commemorated in old chronicles. Braila's fame as Europe's chief grain-shipping port dates from that period. The Greek, Jewish, Turkish, Polish, and Russian traders inhabiting the town dealt in grain. There are places of worship of various religions in Braila to this day. There are many commemorative plaques on the walls of buildings. At the turn of the century Braila, an industrial town, was one of the centres of Romania's working-class movement. It was there that the Romanian Communist Party came into being.

While developing its industry, Braila has remained a large trading centre. It conducts export and import operations with dozens of countries. Braila's principal trading partner, and that of the whole of Romania, is the Soviet Union.

We are neighbours. Our peoples rallied in the joint struggle against fascism at the end of the second world war. But it is in the postwar period, though it was not an easy one, that these ties were consolidated. Various problems arose which now have to be resolved by joint effort.

One acute problem now besetting Romania's national economy is the problem of energy. Last year Western radio stations tried to alarm the Romanians about the impending shortages of fuel and energy which, they said, would result from inadequate supplies of oil and energy from the U.S.S.R. To make these rumours seem plausible they referred to the Chernobyl accident. Romania's economy was not adequately supplied with electricity last year. But that was because the hydropower stations were operating below capacity due to drought, the construction of new hydropower stations had dragged out, and oil workers and miners did not reach their plan targets.

The situation is now changing.

Because of the Chernobyl accident, there has been a need for additional efforts to fulfil the Soviet Union's obligations for energy deliveries. But the obligations have been met. As Romania was having economic difficulties, the U.S.S.R. trebled deliveries of oil to the country and increased gas and energy supplies by more than a third.

Coal-burning power plants with a total capacity of a million kilowatts are about to go into operation in Romania. Hydropower stations under construction on internal rivers will have the same total capacity. Moreover, two power stations are to be built on the Danube jointly with Bulgaria.

The city of Isaccea is first mentioned in historical chronicles as a base of the Imperial Roman fleet on the Danube. The city is known today for its large-capacity power plant, where the electricity supplied by the U.S.S.R. is fed into Romania's power grid. Technicians modestly describe it as a substation, even though its area is as large as that of a hundred football pitches. Each of the humming Zaporozhye-made transformers is the size of a main-line locomotive. Air circuit breakers manufactured in the Urals are as tall as multi-storey buildings. It is perhaps only from space that the whole impressive panorama can be surveyed. The high-voltage power transmission line stretching from the South Ukrainian atomic power station built jointly by several fraternal countries covers 400 kilometres of Soviet territory and then spans the Danube, forming a bridge of a good thousand metres across the river.

The construction of the Isaccea complex started late in 1984. A thousand-odd builders arrived in the area from Bucharest, Bacau, Braila and Cimpina. The first batch of transformers went into operation within six months, and the second is to be commissioned before long. The Isaccea complex has a capacity of 5 billion kilowatt-hours a year, which exceeds the capacity of any of the operating thermal power stations or hydropower plants in Romania up to now. And, in general, no electrical equipment operating under a voltage of 750 kilovolts had previously been installed on Romanian soil.

Romania's first power-generating facilities were built by joint effort back in the fifties, and from the outset Soviet-made turbines and generators proved to be of high technological standards. Cooperation was continued on the Danube, at the construction of two hydropower stations at the Iron Gate. Soviet power engineers supplied the stations with reliable equipment and helped start manufacturing it at Romanian enterprises.

And now the power transmission line spans the Danube and crosses the low hills of Dobrudja in approximately the same area as the international gas pipeline stretching from the U.S.S.R.

The canal

Shipyard cranes tower over Braila port. Tankers, dry-cargo ships, and fishing vessels with a displacement of 7,000-odd tons are under construction. A vessel of an even larger tonnage, 15,000 tons, is being built for export.

This year the shipyard has an ambitious plan. Expenditure on transportation has become appreciable in the national economy, particularly because of the shortage of energy sources and concomitant price increases. A recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party decided to put the emphasis on developing railway and river transport, reducing, wherever possible, the volume of road haulage, which costs ten times more. A more rational use of the potential of the Danube is envisaged. The construction of the Danube - Black Sea Canal - the idea was conceived in the middle of the last century - was started in 1984 and completed within

For the previous instalments see our issues 33, 36 and 39.

a short period of time. The scale of construction can be seen from the following facts: 300 million cubic metres of earth was excavated and 3.5 million cubic metres of concrete laid to build the canal. The waterway is 60 kilometres long and has three large ports situated equidistantly along it. Cernavoda port, at the entry into the Danube, can handle a million tons of cargo a year. This man-made tributary has shortened the Danube's course to the sea by 300 kilometres.

The rationale behind the canal was that after it was opened to traffic, the old route would largely lose its importance for international shipping, and Romania, having built the shortest waterway across its territory, would be almost the monopoly handler of international shipping in the Danube delta, thus considerably increasing Romania's revenues.

Time will show if these hopes are justified.

These hopes would certainly have been more realistic if the geography of trade turnover had remained what it was in the forties. Now, in the late eighties, shipments of raw materials reach Western Europe mainly through the seaports of Havre, Hamburg and Marseilles. And firms prefer to carry finished products not by sea, but by road and even air, as the commercial importance of rapid delivery has increased immeasurably.

So far the Danube - Black Sea Canal is being used far below capacity. The situation may change when the Rhine - Main - Danube Canal goes into operation.

What is clear so far is that Romania's investment of several billion dollars in the construction of this hydrotechnical system has already helped Romanian agriculture. The Danube now irrigates hundreds of hectares of formerly arid land in Dobrudja.

What effect has it had on the interests of neighbouring countries?

To allay the anxiety of other Danube countries over the additional intake of water from the international river, Romania informed them at the start of construction that the daily consumption of the Danube's water will increase by only two per cent. True, the water consumption turned out to be somewhat greater, but Romania's irrigated land has considerably increased.

Many nations regard the Danube as their cradle. To whom does it belong? A river cannot be partitioned or chopped into segments. The Danube crosses

national boundaries and unites peoples. It is indivisible and international. The futures of millions depend on the state of the Danube in the same way as the river's future depends on the wisdom of those who inhabit its banks.

Victoria Square, Bucharest

Romania's Foreign Ministry is situated on Victoria Square. Members of staff at Romania's Foreign Ministry with whom I talked noted with satisfaction that Romania has the best and most developed political and economic relations with the socialist countries situated on the Danube. The volume of Romania's trade with them amounted to 5 billion lei last year and is to reach 40 billion lei in the next quinquennium.

"Is this a realistic target?" I asked councillor Nicolae Florian.

"Yes, it is," he answered. "We have already reached agreement on a volume of 30 billion, and it can be increased further. We attach special importance to the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union. There are no fundamentally disputed questions concerning the Danube and we try not to create them. There are many common problems and undertakings, though: the construction of joint power projects, shipping and so on."

"Could you expand on Romania's relations with its other neighbours?"

"The Danube does not divide the nations on its banks. It unites them. Talks are in progress with Bulgaria about a more effective use of the possibilities of the frontier river for the needs of the national economies. With the Soviet Union's assistance, Romania and Bulgaria are building the first of two planned hydropower stations. An intergovernment agreement to this effect has already been signed, construction has already started, and details will be agreed upon in the course of the work. Perhaps you know that the Bulgarian and Romanian leaders meet twice a year in the city of Ruse on the Danube to decide matters of interest to both sides."

"And have there been cases of differences in approach to international affairs?"

"There have. But it is important to be able to reach agreement. Take, for instance, the question of a new world economic order, which includes the problem of the external indebtedness of the less developed countries. It should be noted that talk about a new order which would promote more rapid progress for all countries, particularly the less developed ones, began ten years ago. The fraternal countries have now come out with a new initiative. Romania's foreign debt is larger than the foreign debt of Bulgaria or, say, Czechoslovakia. And whereas we advanced certain conditions for the creation of a new economic order, we now see that they are disadvantageous to other countries in the community. So for the sake of the common cause, Romania has agreed to withdraw its proposals."

Or take relations with Yugoslavia, Nicolae Florian went on. We wished to increase our trade turnover with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. But this is not easy. Self-government in Yugoslavia is an intricate mechanism. This is reflected in particular in foreign trade operations. We have undertaken jointly to build a power station on the Danube, but the fate of the project, as of our economic relations as a whole, is largely affected by the different character of the responsibility of the parties concerned. In Romania, the responsibility rests with the state, while in Yugoslavia it rests with enterprises. This cannot but create additional difficulties. Certain solutions are needed, and they should be jointly sought.

Many aspects of Danube cooperation came up for discussion during the conversation at the Foreign Ministry. But the main point was determined at once: Romania is concerned by the fact that certain national economic problems, particularly that of ensuring technological independence from costly imports from the West, have not yet been completely resolved in the framework of CMEA. Romanian leaders are of the opinion that the fraternal countries can resolve this problem jointly if they muster their resources and upgrade mutual cooperation.

Galatz skyline

Closer to the delta of the Danube, the banks recede, forming a bay. There are ocean-going vessels in the harbour to be unloaded. The pier stretches along a steep bank and disappears beyond the horizon. This is Galatz, the last Romanian port on the Danube.

Galatz's skyline is a panorama of smokestacks, cooling towers, and coking batteries. Galatz accounts for half of Romania's output in steel and rolled metal. Half of Romania's output in ferrous metal is smelt from Soviet ore. Romania's exports to the U.S.S.R. are also on the increase. As many as 140 enterprises set up with Soviet technological assistance meet the needs of the Romanian national economy in synthetic rubber, rolled stock, cellulose and other products. In turn, Romania is expanding its participation in the construction and overhaul of Soviet enterprises, and for this receives a considerable volume of industrial goods, raw materials and energy.

...I look at the river and try to discern the line that divides Romanian and Soviet territory. This line is invisible. Only pilots know when a passenger ship proceeding slowly from the Soviet bank to the Galatz pier have crossed the border....

Bucharest - Braila - Galatz - Moscow

A revolutionary by calling

The moral message of Ernesto Ché Guevara

The day before he was taken prisoner and two days before his death Ernesto Guevara wrote the last sentence of his life: "The altitude is 2,000 metres above sea level." The sheer cliffs of the Cordilleras were destined to become one of the highest spiritual peaks of this century. It was here that Ché Guevara raised the revolutionary struggle to heights of tragedy inaccessible to philistines or pseudorevolutionaries.

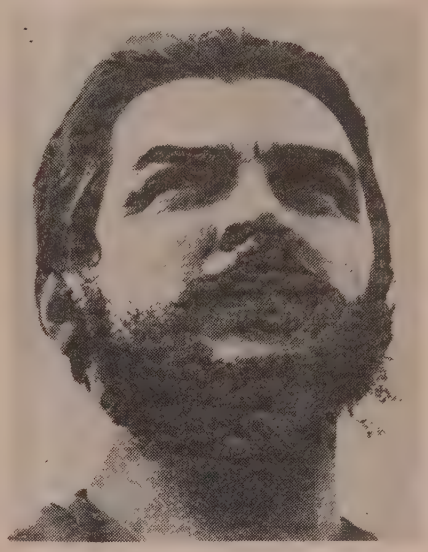
Jean-Paul Sartre described Ché Guevara as the most accomplished man of his time. The appeal of his electric personality is acknowledged even by those who reject his views and actions. The secret of that appeal is in his striking responsiveness to human suffering. He assumed the full measure of responsibility for other people and selflessly served their cause.

Ché knew only one way of living in harmony with his own conscience - never to avoid suffering. If he was a fanatic, he was a fanatic of social justice. He said: "I declare even at the risk of being laughed at that a true revolutionary is motivated by a strong feeling of love. It is impossible to imagine a true revolutionary devoid of that quality. Wherever he went, as a doctor in a Peruvian leper colony or a revolutionary in Guatemala, the mountains of the Sierra Maestra, the jungles of the Congo, or the plains of Bolivia, he appeared as a man whose personal enemy was the suffering of other people.

The formula of his moral conviction was: "to feel as a blow dealt to your own self about any agression, any insult, or any action directed against the dignity and happiness of man in any corner of the world."

He believed that it is only worth living at all if one's expectations of life are extreme, if one wants a great deal and believes in miracles, and if one not only has a vision of the world as it should be, but also fights for it to materialize.

The "divorce of action from dream" of which the favourite poet of his youth, Charles Baudelaire, had written, was unknown to Ché. He was fused with the revolution to such an extent that its victory became his own personal triumph and its defeat his own death. In his last letter to



Fidel Castro he wrote: "you either win or perish in a revolution if it is a true revolution."

There must be "zones of heightened obstruction" in history and when a revolutionary movement finds itself in such a zone the gravest threat it faces comes not from the class enemy, but from those volatile elements that treat the revolutioon as something absolute and independent of objective conditions. They turn the revolution into an idol to be worshipped for its own sake. This turns commitment to the revolution into infatuation. In such an atmosphere there appear people who yearn for personal power and are prepared to exploit the great cause of emancipating the masses. Nechayev, Beria, Pol Pot are cases in point....

Ché Guevara understood the new society as a system at the centre of which there is man, a system that proceeds from the individual personality and the significance of the individual as a decisive revolutionary factor. To him Marxism was a theory of the liberation and self-fulfilment of the human personality. He said that the revolutionary struggle makes people better and purer. He wanted to change not only the world, but man as well. He wanted to change human consciousness, values, and mores and, finally, to change the very way we live. And that was something that imbued him with supreme spirituality.

It sometimes happens that a great event and an outstanding personality are many years apart, but there is still a deep affinity between them. The Russian October Revolution was such an event for Ché Guevara. Ché was a child of the October Revolution in Russia and he greatly resembled the Bolsheviks of the Lenin guard.

He carried on the cause of the great revolution in an entirely new set of circumstances. Speaking during the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution, he said that it was his dream that one day there would not be room enough on the stands of the Lenin Mausoleum to accomodate the leaders of the socialist countries attending a march.

His impassioned commitment to humanitarian ideals and his rejection of bureaucracy lead one to believe that he foresaw a new frontier in the development of socialism, beyond which the individual personality was at the centre of public life. His notion of building a new kind of man is very close to the profoundly humane goals of the process of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union today. That programme is aimed at doing away with any contradiction between man as the supreme asset and goal of socialism and any social practice that regards man as a means. The theoretical and practical work of Ché Guevara during the initial stage of building socialism in Cuba considered by some a leftist deviation (for instance, the emphasis he placed on the human factor) appears to have in fact been a scientific and moral precursor of a new stage in the socialist movement.

A revolutionary is a person capable of feeling with his soul the birth in the entrails of the old order of the structure of a new world that is not yet tangible. Ché used to say that a revolutionary must be able to hear the grass grow. He possessed the rare faculty of sensing an impending earth-shaking change, although nothing seemed to indicate it. He built his policy on his vision of the future. He was ahead of his time and he derived his enormous strength as a revolutionary from this, but the root cause of almost all of his mistakes lies here as well. The mistakes he made were due to the fact that the formulas by which he proposed to exploit the full potential of the revolution were far ahead of his time, although they were to be borne out at future points in history. Guevara's mistakes were history making, and that is why they are historically significant and constructive.

Great efforts were made in the West to represent Ché as an advocate of violence and an agent of destruction who believed that missiles and submachine guns can deal with any problem. But here is what Ché actually said: "The question of peace is no idle question as we see it. It is very important. Any false step or mistake on the part of imperialism could suddenly provoke a world war. We must always work for peace and be prepared to defend peace to the end. We shall continue to

defend peace and fight for peace here and everywhere."

Ché never confronted peace and the revolution. Within the system of his thought, the supreme goal, fully compatible with Marxism, was a free and fulfilled personality as the acme of human development. That is why peace and work for peace, on the one hand, and the revolution and liberation, on the other, are not opposites but part of an integral whole. "We are pressing for peace. Our resolution to be free and peace are inseparably bound up, and it is our struggle that enables us to enjoy peace now."

Ché Guevara proceeded from the view that the establishment of a lasting peace in international relations would create optimal conditions for the class struggle in the capitalist countries, as it would free the broad masses of the giant burden of fear that revolutionary change would bring about total annihilation. Addressing the U.N. General Assembly in 1964, Ché Guevara said that the Marxists had always believed that peaceful coexistence between states does not mean that there should be peaceful coexistence between the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the opressed.

His short life was full of passion, and his life's achievement was the most important result of his struggle. Lenin said that "a living example, tackling the job somewhere in one country is more effective than any proclamations and conferences; this is what inspires the working people in all countries."

Ché's example lies not in his death as a hero, but in the triumphal assertion of the revolutionary struggle and the need to carry it on against any odds, however overwhelming. The physical destruction of Ché Guevara aroused not only a feeling of pain and loss, but also a feeling of pride in the achievement of a personality in his struggle against social ills.

The advent of people like Ché Guevara in this day and age confirms the spiritual maturity and great strength of the world socialist revolutionary process, which cannot be stoped or defeated.

Ché Guevara marches into the future as a giant. He dedicated his whole life to demonstrating the need for mankind to raise itself a step higher. Without him the human race would have been incomplete.

Ché died at noon on October 9, 1967, but his spirit lives on. It is unimportant whether his remains were placed in a pantheon or his body burned and his ashes cast to the wind, for he is reborn every day in the hungry children of the shanty towns of Brazil, in the inmates of South African jails, and in the millions of unemployed in the West. His impassioned call for a struggle will continue to ring out loud and clear in the stormy air of our planet for as long as there is violence, exploitation and lawlessness.

VLADIMIR MIRONOV

RUSSIAN BALLET: HOW TO STAY AHEAD?

AZARY PLISETSKY

The ballet is the finest means of communication. Absorbing the national traits and specific features of the culture of a given people, the dance, nevertheless, is understandable to all. In this lies its advantage over the spoken word. It is simply amazing how easily a common language - the language of the dance - is found in companies made up of dancers of almost twenty nationalities, be it Stuttgart or Brussels. Is this not a model of a global unity of peoples? Painting and music are also universal, but the ballet includes both colour and music.

The ballet is an inalienable part of our culture. For many people in other countries the word usually brings up the definition "Russian," "Soviet," "Bolshoi," and "Kirov." As a sign of their respect for the Russian school Western dancers took Russian pseudonyms. Take, for example, Anton Dolin (his real name is Patrick Healey-Kay), Alicia Markova (Lillian Marks), or Nadia Nerina who, of course, was no Nerina and never spoke Russian, but was really Nadine Judd!

All the greater, therefore, is the responsibility of those who are called upon to preserve and develop our traditions. And all the more dangerous is any kind of tranquillity and self-glorification.

Much is said today about the classical heritage of the ballet. Choreographers and teachers, it seems to me, must feel that they are links in the chain of time, and this heritage they must pass through themselves in order to be able to convey it to dancers, to their pupils, to younger generations. It is, of course, possible to live on dividends, to assure others that the heritage is intact, to advocate the inviolability of traditions and to put the fear of God in anyone who dares lift a hand. In this manner one turns into a watchman of a valuable, wonderful edifice that is falling into decay - a watchman guarding this building against life, as it were. The surrounding world doesn't stand still, after all!

Another way, however trite it may sound, is to work indefatigably to make the building habitable, opening the windows to a fresh breeze, even to draughts - this will ensure against mustiness.

If the foundation is sound, it is easy to improve, to strive for perfection. But how? While modernizing, it is possible to preserve and restore the façade. However, if the content is not touched then a charming city easily becomes nothing but mere window dressing. I have probably let myself be carried away by metaphors, but that is how the matter stands: new materials and new technologies have appeared and all of them should be utilized... The foundation of our ballet is the classical school, and so we must preserve its viability, but not mummify it. It is clear today that we have already missed out on many things, lulling ourselves with the artless thought that "also in the field of ballet we're ahead of the whole planet." We are, in principle, a leading ballet power. In principle. And by force of habit. But, as the sports commentators would say, have we kept up the gap between us and our followers-up? In the past no dancers were equal to the Russians, but today we are more and more frequently forced to share the laurels at ballet competitions with our rivals from other lands. They, as a rule, are very young dancers, but they force prominent professionals from the leading theatres of our country to make way. Therefore, in my opinion, we have no grounds for resting on our laurels.

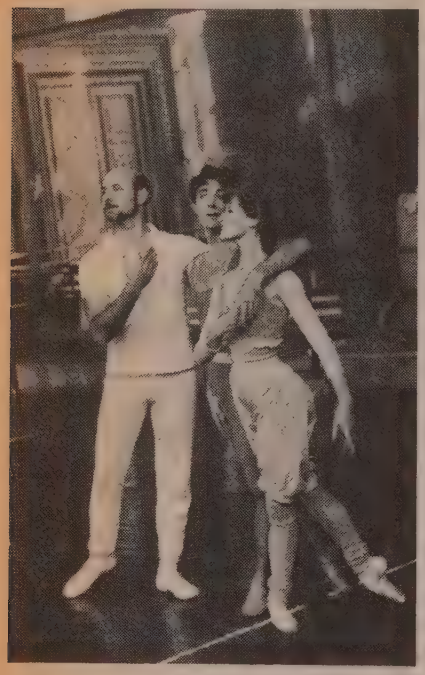
We readily share our experience with all those who are interested in it. However, I make bold to affirm that at the same time we ourselves are amazingly incu-

---

AZARY PLISETSKY, Honoured Artist of the Russian Federation, teaches choreography at the Moscow State Ballet Theatre of the U.S.S.R. For many years he danced in the Cuban National Ballet company, performing practically the entire classical and modern repertoire. He staged a number of performances and taught the classical dance in various ballet companies: Maurice Béjart's Twentieth Century Ballet, Roland Petit's Marseilles Ballet, the Stuttgart Ballet, the National Ballet of Spain.

Azary Plisetsky is interviewed by Alexander Firer.

rious. Why shouldn't we, too, adopt the experience of talented, thinking choreographers, dancers and teachers of other lands? From childhood on we have been taught that aesthetics is a dialectical concept. But, dialecticians that we are, we often hang on so tightly to traditions that it becomes impossible to budge us from our site. Aesthetics, as well as ballet techni-



Marseilles. Prima ballerina of the Marseilles National Ballet Dominique Khalfouni and soloist Thierry Le Flock rehearsing with Azary Plisetsky the fragment "Automne" from Roland Petit's ballet "Quatre saisons."

Photo by O. Karasyov

ques, are no museum exhibits. Isn't it true that in our time the ballet costume, for instance, has undergone an evolution, in connection with the changes that have enriched the language of the dance? But how difficult it was to give up the wide trousers, the swallow-tailed dress suits and the heavy skirts! We did finally accept this change, but, alas, belatedly, while formerly it was we who were the arbiters of fashion in ballet. The reasons for such lateness are obvious: ignorance, isolation, lack of information. Fortunately, things are moving now. We must therefore make haste and introduce everything that is new, choosing for ourselves what is most essential! To manage only on our own - out of false pride, perhaps? - that is irrational and unwise.

Throughout the world ballet competitions are convened and summer courses are organized where the teachers and choreographers of all manner of schools and trends are most widely represented. One of the latest of such symposia, held in Brazil, attracted over a thousand participants. Raisa Struchkova and I gave demonstration lessons of classical ballet dancing there. Beginners and professionals were afforded the opportunity of attending classes taught by Soviet, French, American and Spanish teachers, of learning classical contemporary ballet styles, as well as modern dancing. How can our own dancers gain an idea of all this diveristy in their own profession, in their own art? I might be told that in our schools both classical and character dancing are taught; however, these canonized disciplines no longer meet the requirements of modern choreography. It is at times difficult to expand the school curriculum owing to the students being overburdened as it is. But summer courses with open classes - of this we should be capable! For the progress of our ballet it is vitally necessary that we maintain creative contacts with our colleagues. To date such contacts are very, very sparse.

It always gives me pleasure to attend the classes of other teachers. If one has formed his own concept of pedagogics, he need have no fear of harming his own school...

In our country international ballet competitions are held once in four years, while little Cuba conducts ballet festivals almost every year, with hundreds of dancers and dozens of ballet companies participating. I cannot call to mind any practice of sending our students and professional dancers for training in foreign ballet schools or to work in their companies, while we accept many trainees from other lands.

Naturally, this brings the question of schools to the fore. We have the widest network of professional ballet institutions in the world - choreography schools. However, those who do not intend to become professional dancers are practically deprived of the opportunity to learn to dance. Large enterprises have their Houses of Culture with choreographic groups and even small ballet companies. But this is not enough. Due to the absence of open classes for preschool children we miss the opportunity of attracting the most gifted children to ballet dancing, with the latter therefore taking up sports and free callisthenics. The sports sections "skim off the cream," selecting the best. Then, too, the system of qualifying ballet dancers should probably likewise be reexamined. Teenagers for whom it is already too late to enroll in a choreography school lose the opportunity of entering a professional company for good. But suffice it to recall the case of Michael Denard who started dancing at the age of 19 and became a Grand Opera star or the "star" of American ballet Igor Youskevitch whose dancing career began at 20, or Asaf Messerer, a leading figure in the Soviet ballet, who started to learn dancing when he was 16 years old. There are numerous such examples. Our system of teaching curtails such opportunities.

The way to find non-standard dancers, to discover talents, lies through the establishment of public ballet schools. A choreographic school diploma is no guarantee of talent.

Contemporary ballet, as well as sports, puts very rigid requirements to the accepted pupils. But it is paradoxical that the stricter our definitions of the required parameters are, the greater is the risk of losing real talents. Many of our male and female dancers of worldwide fame would not, however laughable it may seem, have passed the competition for enrolment into a ballet school today! In striving for perfection of form (which is also no insignificant matter) we may overlook a talented individual. And namely this, generally speaking, is most important.

Our ballet competitions are too much akin to sports competitions. Art enriches sports, but sports brings ballet no small harm. Technical progresss is at times injurious to aesthetics. The number of pirouettes takes the place of true artistry, athletism - of expressiveness. Often dancers, in striving for a superficial effect, oversaturate their dancing with athletic techniques, which becomes, in the final analysis, an end in itself.

I have, perhaps, spoken too sharply, but there is a pressing need for the solution of the great number of problems that have accumulated in our ballet. Not on account of a sportsmanlike striving for leadership, but for the sake of art... ■

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please enter my subscription to the English edition of NEW TIMES for 1 year (2, 3 years). Enclosed you will find..... in cash (cheque, postal order)

Name _____

Address _____

Date _____

Signature _____

Subscriptions may be placed with all bookshops and firms handling Soviet publications as agents for Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga

Flaming heart and inquiring mind

The youth of China through the prism of literature

NINA BOREVSKAYA

20-year old Gao had long wanted to be a lorry driver, and, of course, a first-class driver, but not just anywhere, not just on any route. So far, however, he is only at the apprentice stage, but he does sit next to the driver of a long-distance coach, moving slowly towards Shenzhen. This very special economic zone of China borders so closely on neighbouring Hong Kong that on one of its streets the two opposite pavements are on different sides of the border....

I did not meet Gao in China - he is the main character in one of the short stories now so popular in China from the pen of authoress Zhang Xinxin and journalist and historian Sang Ye.

I spent six months in China. On TV I often saw Zhang Xinxin interviewing young people. Both Sang Ye, a pensive well-built young man, and lively, uninhabited Zhang Xinxin, are in their early thirties, so it is not surprising that most of the characters in their 100 stories published under the general heading "Chinese Profiles" are youngsters like Gao.

The road to an ideal

His enthusiastic admiration for booming Shenzhen is so great that the driver of the coach jokes: "It is only here that he is so talkative and sounds so much like a poet." But the youngster doesn't mind. He sees the building cranes of the town, where new factories and housing estates are constantly being built with the participation of foreign capital, as "the road to an ideal." And the story of Gao is entitled "The Road to an Ideal." Is this youngster who finished secondary school and grew up at a time when China was moving from the "cultural revolution" to an entirely different period in its history - the reforms of the eighties - typical of present-day China?

I recall my conversation with a very modern young couple one fine autumn day on one of the paths of Peking's lovely Violet Bamboo Park. At that time people were flocking there, as to other big parks in China, for the seasonal exhibition of chrysanthemums, which one can only describe as a beauty parade. I bought one in a flower pot - a huge yellow beauty with long petals looking as marvelous as if they had just been carefully groomed by an expert hairdresser, and proudly carried it home. My new friends, students at the law faculty, surprised to learn that I was from the Soviet Union, flabbergasted me with their very first question: "What legal statutes would you say correspond more to the interests of the people - the socialist legal system or the capitalist one?"

I recalled that question and the youngsters who put it to me when I read the reports about the students who spilled out onto the streets at the end of last December and the beginning of this year. Among their many slogans was the demand for "greater democracy." Maybe my acquaintances from the Violet Bamboo Park carried such a slogan?

I feel the deputy chairman of the state committee for education, He Dongchang, was probably right when he said a short while ago that China would need a long time to build up a high level of democracy. There are a number of reasons for this - economic, social and others, but most important of all is lack of experience. Probably that complex period from the end of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1980s, when China got down to revising many aspects of its life, and launched its open-doors policy, bred chaos and uncertainty among some of its young people.

As the Peking magazine China Reconstructs acknowledged in 1983, the young generation was an unusual one. Their elders regarded them as an entirely different breed from their peers of 20-30 years ago. They were greater individualists, less inclined to blind obedience of orders; they had no spirit of collectivism; they were more apt to follow their tastes; they were not so traditional in their clothes, their haircuts, and their views on love and marriage; and they were more strongly attracted to material benefits and Western civilization.

There are two sides to that last point. On the one hand, China's contacts with world culture, which have been reinforced since the end of the 1970s, have enriched the country's cultural life. But on the other hand, according to a staff member of the Scientific Research Institute working on youth problems, a non-critical approach to the realities of life in capitalist countries is evident among some young people. What fostered its appearance was the bankruptcy of many of the views formed in the 1960s-70s, and the absence of clear-cut ideological principles.

What are the views held by today's students? For an answer to that question one should examine the results of the sociological survey conducted among 3,000 students in Wuhan, a big industrial centre, a survey that journalists have described as a collective portrait. 88 per cent of those questioned said they knew little about the ideological and political work conducted in their colleges or that it did not affect them; 65 per cent believe the propaganda of Western culture, its critical assimilation and the import of Western technology to be the right policy, but that the doors should be shut to decadent culture; 32 per cent believed that there should be no resrtrictions at all on information about life in the capitalist countries.

19-year-old Luo Bin, another character in the "Chinese Profiles" series, is described as have been looking for a job for two years. His time is whiled away in the bars of luxury hotels with a tankard of beer. Where does the money come for this sort of life? By buying and reselling jeans. The ultramodern hotels for foreign tourists and the displays in the windows of shops where goods are sold for foreign currency - signs of the times - irk him. But he is very ambitious and dreams of a good life.

The problem of youth employment in China is now slightly less acute than it was a couple of years ago. Some of the school leavers who had been waiting for jobs have in some regions found them in mixed-capital businesses, the rapidly expanding tourist industry, and the private sector (its slogan is "Let us serve the people"). According to the Board of Statistics, 38.3 million people were provided with jobs, between 1978 and 1982, 35.3 per cent of them at enterprises with collective ownerships and in the individual sector. Then the number of new vacancies began to increase annually from 6 to almost 8 million. However, 3 million youngsters are left each year looking for jobs. That naturally gives rise to ideological problems, as well as to material ones.

With the overall cultural level not standing very high (a quarter of the population is illiterate or has had practically no schooling) the level of ideas and feelings isn't very developed. That is the kind of people the writer Liu Xinwu describes in his story "The long day of May 19." A working lad and his girl friend are bored with life and don't know what to do with the time that hangs heavily on their hands. Meanwhile, all around them is a different sort of life, with restaurants and advertisements for things beyond their reach. They begin to feel envious, and are troubled by their discontent....

I recall my conversation with Liu Xinwu in the tiny study at his home. A former teacher, he knows the younger generation well. His first novel "The Class Teacher," published in 1977, had an immense impact on the reading public in China as it dealt with the tragedy of youngsters who had been deceived by the slogans of the "cultural revolution," which initially they had sincerely believed in. Today Liu Xinwu is one of the most widely read authors in China, and his novel "Drum Tower" was awarded the Mao Dun prize in 1985. I asked the writer what, in his opinion, prevented the younger generation from feeling happy. His answer was forthright, as usual, though interspersed with "shi-ba" (something like the English "well"): "The impossibility of making full use of their abilities."

That, indeed, is true at present, although a great deal is being done in China to put things right today. In April 1986 a law was passed on general junior secondary education; slowly but surely more young people are getting places in colleges - on average the increase is 12 per cent a year (last year 572,000 young men and women were enrolled in colleges). The cultural life of the country has become incomparably richer in the 1980s, and material well-being is improving.

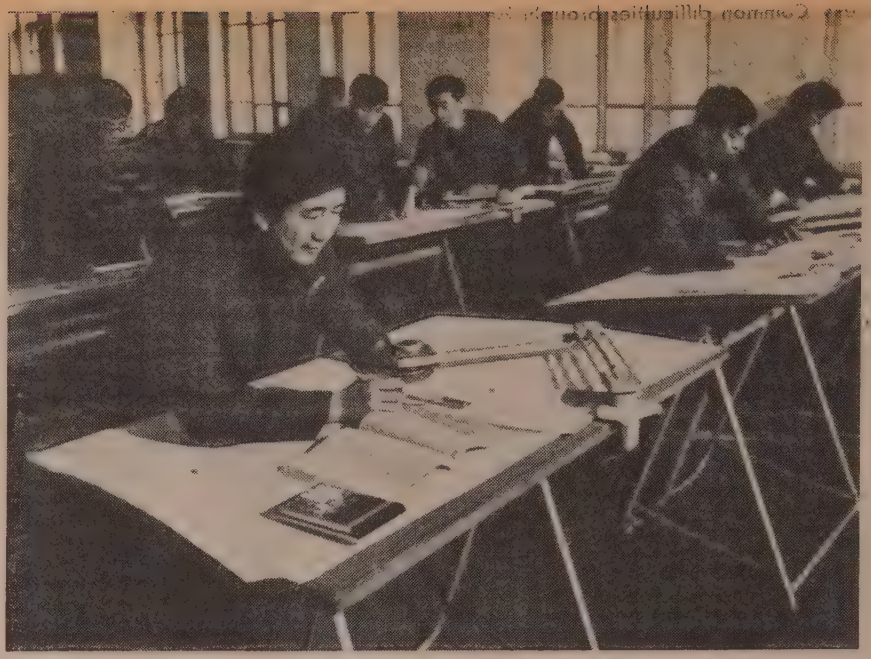
The prospects for twenty-year olds are much brighter than those who lived through the "cultural revolution" and are now in their thirties. The return to the cities after 1976 of the millions of school and college graduates who had been sent to the villages at the end of the 1960s for "reeducation" has given rise to social problems.

I constantly dropped into book shops, where good books, as in the Soviet Union, are sold out immediately. And invariably I put the same question to young people I met there: "What are you reading?" I was told: Ye Xin's trilogy, A Chen's short stories, Kong Jiesheng's "About 'Kings'" and "The Primeval Forest," and Wang Anyi's trilogy which began with his novel "The Class of '69."

A once-forbidden subject

When I visited Shanghai I was glad to meet this much-read authoress. She belongs to the generation now in their thirties.

Tall and pleasant-looking, Wang Anyi has the elegance common to many people born and bred in Shanghai. Her manner of speech is quick and enthusiastic. She noted with a smile that she is not sure that she can be regarded as belonging to the generation of young writers. But she is watching with keen interest the generation of young people now in their twenties, who differ so greatly from her own. It is a generation that is tired of poverty, and yearns more for the material than the spiritual. Objectively that is easy to explain. But what will this lead to?



Kharbin University students.
Photo from the book "Education in China"

I remember what Wang Anyi said in an interview for the paper Zhongguo funü bao after her return from a trip to the United States. She expressed the hope that her people "having become richer will retain the very best in Chinese traditions and customs, and that society will not be torn apart by the divisions inherent in Western society." What can help achieve that? A great deal, and particularly the honesty the writer preaches, and love as integral to the principle of humanism. Wang Anyi spoke of the difficulties the right to friendship and love among senior form pupils is facing (and that is indeed the case. Once when visiting friends I asked 15-year old Lingling whether she had a boy friend. The girl blushed and replied that it was considered indecent.) Incidentally, Wang Anyi is the author of what are probably the most impressive love stories of recent years. Her tragic novel "Love on Huangshan Mountain" is the story of a passion so great that it transcends the sacredness of the marriage vows. She also wrote "Love in a Small Town," and the short novel "Spring Tale."

In Chinese literature of the 1980s love often proves to lead to unhappiness. That is not surprising, as for many long years the subject itself was taboo both in the arts and in life. The younger generation had no opportunity to learn about the finer feelings. That is why feelings of love in the young in present-day Chinese short novels often produce a guilt complex, a phenomenon that has justly been pointed to by literary critics. Analyzing two short novels by Wang Anyi, the critic explained "the feeling of guilt in the national consciousness" by the fact that the love stories unfold in the specific conditions of China's "cultural climate," on a "cultural soil that is hardly suited for fostering love."

Those few works of past decades containing merely hints of one character or another falling in love described the feelings as stemming from common tasks in their struggle and in their work. It was only in the 1980s, that such works appeared as "The Kite and the Ribbon" by the well-known writer, the Republic's Minister of Culture, Wang Meng. The heroine Fang Susu loves a young man, who is perhaps rather clumsy, who is awaiting work, but who is honest and well-read. Marriage between them, it is true, will have to wait, for Fang is only 24 years and 7 months old, and at the end of the 1970s, when the action of the story takes place, a policy of later marriages prevailed, the age being 25 for girls and 28 for young men. With the adoption of a new law in 1980, the minimal age for marriage has been lowered to 20 and 22 years respectively.

Love is also hard and often unhappy in the literature concerning educated youth and the problems of their so-called "difficult reeducation." During our conversation, Liu Xinwu remarked that it was anything but easy, but that it was absolutely essential to show the wide gap between urban and rural youth with their immense differences in standards of living, education and social views. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, when young people from entirely different social spheres were sent to live in remote rural areas where they came face to face with other young people from a sphere they had rarely come into contact with, this bred quite a number of dramatic conflicts.

Fairly typical accounts of the fate of such settlers are given in Kong Jiesheng's story, "An Ordinary Working Woman," about He Dan, unmarried mother, and in the story of Qin in the film "Under the Bridge," which was shown in the Soviet Union where it enjoyed considerable

success. Common difficulties brought He Dan, a girl from a peasant family, into contact with the son of a famous surgeon. By means fair and foul he managed to speed up his return to the city and entrance to college. The girl, feeling she had no right to spoil his life (students in China are not allowed to marry before they graduate) did not tell him that she was pregnant, and if it had not been for a chance meeting in the street some years later, he would probably never have known that he had a son.

Typical of the literature of the 1980s is the eternal triangle resulting from hangovers of the policy of putting down roots in rural areas. In the short novel "The distant town is not so far away" by the gifted writer Tie Ning, a talented journalist Su Huaiwei is conscious of his moral responsibility to his wife, who befriended him in the hard times of his "reeducation" in the village. But at the same time he feels closer spiritually to a young woman doctor, You Nanni. The story offers no recipes for resolving such a situation. The uneasy life of those who have roots in the village, and the shakiness of their social status (many of them were the children of persons persecuted in the years of the "cultural revolution") led to another social outcome: apart from unmarried mothers, there were also a large number of spinsters when these young people returned to the towns after the "reeducation" process. The Chinese press wrote of them, and their unhappy shadows still haunt contemporary literature.

According to the 1982 census, 43 per cent of the women in Peking in the 30-34 age group are unmarried, and 35.7 per cent in the 35-39 age group. For the most part they are intellectuals - postgraduate students, teachers and engineers. But, strange as it may seem, the largest number of the unmarried in the 30-39 age group are men (95 per cent, and in some provinces the figure goes up to 99.8 per cent). There are many economic, social and other reasons for this state of affairs.

Another curious paradox. Many of the young people on their return to the towns felt themselves to be rootless. They no longer felt at home in the towns. As the main character in the short story "The Kite and the Ribbon" put it, "the town of our dreams deceived us." Looking back on the tortuous path she had travelled, all her many illusions and hopes that were replaced by disappointment, Fang Susu asks bitterly: "Did I have to go through all that to end up as a waiter?" (the only job she managed to find).

No other choice exists

Once, still in 1982, the literary critic Zhang Ren, analyzing writings about the younger generation, noted that one could glimpse a gradual change in the mood of their characters from grieving over their wounds to a search for the meaning of life. What are the young searching for? Many things. Their place in life, work that will bring them satisfaction, and their own system of moral values. A youth theatrical company staged a very striking and modern play based on real events, "The Dead Questions the Living." In a packed bus bandits stabbed a younster when he interceded on behalf of a passenger who had been robbed of his wallet. In the play the dead youngster returns to visit those who witnessed the killing, but who, because of their indifference and cowardice, had let the bandits get off scot-free. "I want to look into your eyes," he tells these people, who mutter something quickly in justification. What is he looking for? Signs of kindness, readiness to help each other out, compassion for the needs of others. The reaction of the audience was tremendous - almost palpable - as I sat in the packed hall.

The emergence of a private sector in which the middleman plays an important part and gets rich from the resale of goods obtained from Hong Kong and Taiwan to a certain extent affects the moral climate and mood of young people. Some of them, those who for decades had been taught to believe that everything that is not state property has no place in a socialist society, despise them. I learned of this attitude from a Chinese friend, who teaches at refresher courses. And in some stories and short novels you find that characters who are forced by circumstances to engage in private trade are ashamed of their business (for example, a recent shoolleaver from Deng Gang's story "Reed Shrimps"). Nevertheless, the psychology of the younger generation in China is changing. As a schoolteacher told me, only a short while ago pupils spoke with disdain about those engaged in individual labour, as they watched the more successful riding Japanese motorcycles and carelessly throwing money about in restaurants. Today they already look at them with a certain degree of respect.

Among the students there are some who want to formulate their own views on many ideological and philosophical problems, rather than just echo the views of the older generation. They read a lot, everything they can lay their hands on - from the works of the classics of Marxism to the works of Sigmund Freud, Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell. They are interested in books describing life in different countries.

Sociological surveys are very much in fashion in China today. Apart from professionals, students also undertake such surveys and polls. Last year 650 students from different colleges distributed a questionnaire: "What is your aim in life?", "What interests you most of all?", and "How do you spend your free time?". Replying to the first question, 45 per cent wrote: "To make my country strong and rich, and achieve prosperity for all of mankind." 30 per cent replied: "To acquire a profession," and 27 per cent said: "To build a good family." The answers to the second question also revealed a diversity of interests - studies, sports, dancing, music, literature and so on. The third question showed that the younger generation is interested in fashionable clothes, reading detective stories, listening to the music of Beethoven, and discos.

On many occasions I was invited to college "dos." The students danced away happily, while the over-thirties clung shyly to the walls - in their young days they had no opportunities for dancing. Now the young are seeking out their kind of music. Perhaps that explains the success of the short novel "No Other Choice Exists" by a graduate of the Central Conservatoire, Liu Suola. I was told time and again by young people that it "provides a true reflection of the mood of today's students." The author knows the mood of creative young people, their keen interest in modern trends in music, their own creative quests, their enthusiasms. At the same time, as the Chinese press noted, the story reflected "the contradictions that beset the minds and hearts of the young people of the 1980s."

What are they like, these young people? Those who started life at the beginning of the 1980s without the tragic experiences of their elder brothers and sisters? Tie Ning in her novel "A Red Buttonless Jacket" describes 16-year old An Ran (the story is told in the first person by her elder sister). A film was made on the basis of the short novel and it won the hearts of all young people by the girl's obvious respect for her own individual personality. She differs sharply from previous literary characters when the slogan was "supress your own individuality." An Ran defends her individuality, but it has nothing to do with egoism. For her the main thing is to be herself, to have her own views about life, and her own opinion of other people.

Not for nothing was the copy of the magazine, in which the short novel was published, pencil-marked with exclamation marks all over the place - it was passed from hand to hand and readers felt deeply for the heroine in her struggle to be an individual in her own right.

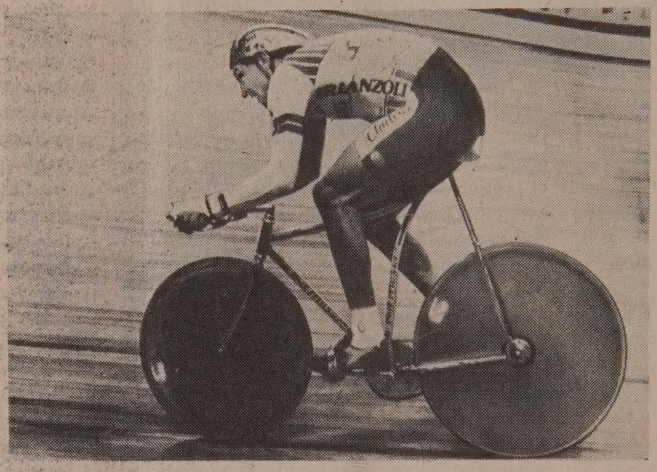
For many Chinese writers the positive hero of their stories is a person who refuses to accept ready-made formulas and solutions and seeks to understand for himself the purpose and aims of human life, who by his hard work promotes the flourishing of his country, and approaches any job creatively.

In the final scenes of the play "We" staged by the youth group of the People's Theatre, the authors reflect on the destiny of the young after the "cultural revolution." The actors are dressed in two colours - red and grey. The producer whom I approached after the performance explained that they are meant to symbolize the red-hot blood and inquiring minds of Chinese youth.

Peking - Moscow

The contest not yet over

The name of the Italian cyclist Francesco Moser has been in the headlines on the sport pages of the world press for years. No wonder: he has won the Giro d'Italia, one of the most prestigious cycling competitions, as well as the Milan - San Remo and the Milan - Turin races. He is the only rider in the history of the sport to have captured the world title in both road and track events. He also holds the unique world records of 51 km., 151 m. in one-hour outdoor riding on tracks at an altitude greater than 600 metres above sea level (Mexico City, 1984) and 49 km., 801 m. in such races at lower altitudes (Milan, 1986).



Moser, a pro, has decided to end his sporting career - on which he embarked 15 years ago - in Moscow by setting yet another one-hour track riding record - indoors.

Several hundred spirited Italian fans have arrived in the Soviet capital to cheer him on. Moser is regarded by ordinary people in his country not only as a top racing cyclist, but also as a national hero and a model to emulate.

Born into a poor peasant's family, his sporting career reads like a fairy tale. Even after becoming a celebrity, he stayed put in his small native village of Palu di Giovo outside the city of Trento, and local farmers are proud of him.

"Francesco used to harvest grapes side by side with fellow villagers for years before becoming world famous," says Franca Voleni, a fan from Trento.

"Why have you chosen Moscow for your bid to break the world record?" we asked Moser.

"You won't find a better place for such a venture. The Krylatskoye track here has a superb wooden covering. Having cycled there before, I liked it so much that I decided not to retire until I'd tried my luck and gone for a world record there."

Getting back to the unusual start to his sporting career, Moser recollects:

"I was born in the hamlet of Palu di Giovo. My father and mother toiled in the vineyards all their lives, barely making ends meet. The same fate was waiting for me and my six brothers and three sisters. My elder brother Aldo, however, was suddenly able to break out of the vicious circle of poverty. He took part in cycling competitions and began to win one race after another. Spotting a talent, sport managers offered him a contract and he turned professional. Aldo's sporting triumphs made me long to follow his example. But wishing is one thing and being able to do so is quite another. I simply didn't have any opportunity to go in for cycling races in real earnest. I used to go to the vineyards at dawn and leave late at night. Our family did not even dream of such a luxury as a car. The hamlet, however, is some ten kilometres from neighbouring Trento, and my principal means of transportation was the bicycle. I sometimes had to go to the city and back twice or even three times a day. So that is how it all started. But I didn't have the chance to start training seriously until I was 18. And even then I didn't have a coach, I just couldn't afford one. It was Aldo who helped me on with advice."

"You scored your major successes when you were over 30. Why did it take your talent so long to blossom?"

"In 1983 I was going to bow out of sport as I thought I was finished. It was then that Physiology Professor Francesco Conconi offered to give me guidance in my training routines. In September that year we began working together. Six months later I smashed my first world record in one-hour riding. It is thanks to Conconi that I won my biggest victories at a time when I had almost lost all hope.

"Conconi is a whole epoch in Italian sport. The greatest achievements of my compatriots in athletics are associated with his name.

"He begins working with a sportsman by doing a thorough analysis of his capabilities. Conconi is not only an excellent physiologist. He has the knack of convincing an athlete and coming up with the right idea for his workouts. He can even foresee the future triumphs of people training under his supervision. Conconi believes that a sportsman specializing in events that call for a lot of stamina reaches his prime between the ages of 30 and 40. Given well-planned training, he says, one can join the world elite even after 40."

"How many kilometres do you cycle every year?"

"Some 36,000. All in all, I have clocked up more than half a million kilometres in my cycling career."

"What is your favourite pastime?"

"Being with my family - wife Carla, daughter Francesca, 5, and son Carlo, 3. When I have spare time, I like to go driving with the children, but there is, alas, too little time for that: it is mostly taken up by training sessions and competitions."

"When you arrived in Moscow, you said your paramount aim was not only to establish new world records for pros, but also to better the one-hour riding record set by Soviet cyclist Vyacheslav Yekimov...."

"Since the Krylatskoye race I have become the first ever rider to hold three world one-hour cycling records, including those for indoor tracks and open-air high-altitude and lowland tracks. I'm glad I've been able to do this, but I am still not quite satisfied. My indoor record of 48,637 metres is below Yekimov's amateur mark of 49,672. I have always said that he is a remarkable cyclist.... After the finish I thought I'd put the bicycle as far away as I could, but several hours later I realized I was quite capable of doing 50 kilometres in an hour on an indoor track. So I think my contest with Yekimov is not yet over.

ALEXANDER LYUBIMOV

Photo by D. Azarov and V. Karatayev

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed by the Moskovskaya Pravda Press in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The world of Aristarkh Lentulov

How many one-man shows does it take to win an artist fame? Aristarkh Lentulov had four, the first in 1910 under the name Jack of Diamonds.

At the beginning of the century the artist, then a mere 20, struck up a close friendship with Moscow avant-garde painters — the Burlyuk brothers and Mayakovsky. Then came the above-mentioned 1910 exhibition, which shocked conservative public.

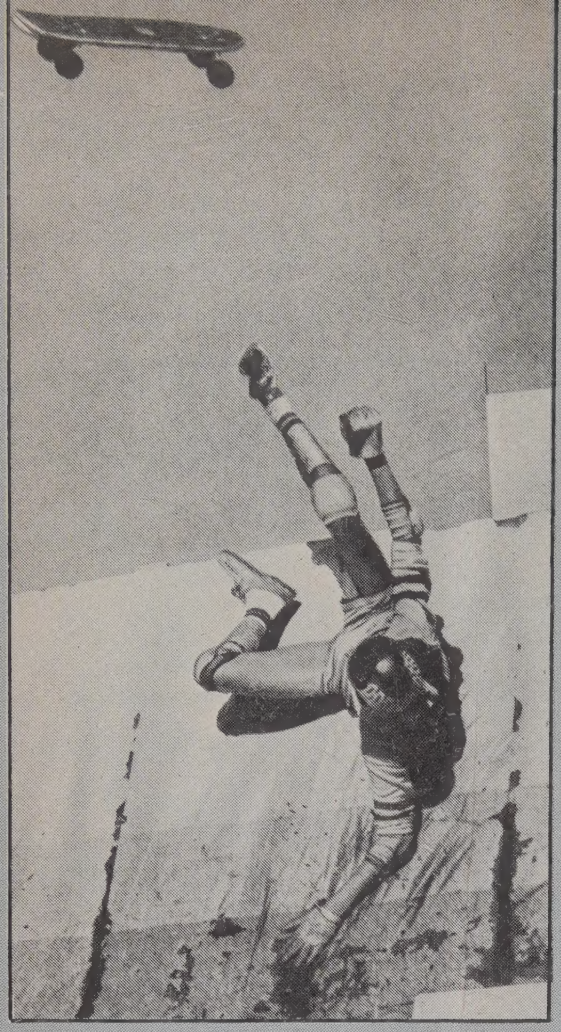
In 1913 he created the cityscapes "Moscow" and "St. Basil's" followed shortly by "The Nizhny Novgorod Kremlin," "Chimes. Ivan the Great Belfry," and "Celestial Bells." In 1916 he painted "The Chapel of the Iberian Icon of the Mother of God."

Aristarkh Lentulov certainly played an important role in the revolutionary art of the twenties. After 1917, he designed costumes and settings for outdoor carnivals; in 1918, staged the spectacle "Prometheus" in the Bolshoi and decorated the trees of the public garden in front of the theatre in a bold manner all his own.

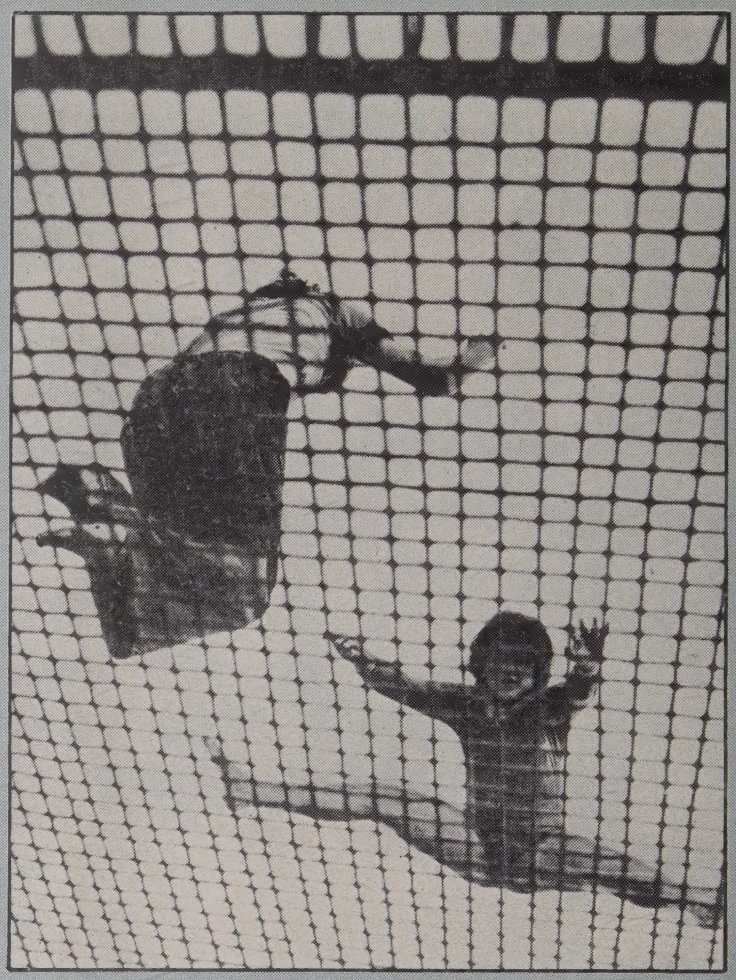
Lentulov died on April 15, 1943, at the age of 61. He had honestly expressed himself in his work which, while of uneven artistic merit, always bore the unmistakable stamp of his personality. His early death put an end to a distinguished career which could certainly have lasted far longer.

"Self-Portrait in red."
"A street in Sergiyevsky Posad."
"The towers of the New Jerusalem Monastery."
"Celestial Bells."

Photos by V. Panov



Down...



...and up.

Half way to victory.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Vlastimil Ipser (Czechoslovakia)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ